

# THE INDEPENDENT

No 3,944

## THE TABLOID

The cancer that went into space



## THE TABLOID

Ten pages of music from Bach to the Monkees



WEATHER: Fine with sunny spells

(IR45p) 40p

## COMMENT

Peregrine Worsthorne on the real threat to Britain PAGE 19



# Slaughter on the Isle of Peace

Middle East tension rises over 'senseless' schoolgirl killings

Patrick Cockburn  
Naharim, Jordan Valley

The Middle East was plunged yesterday into a new crisis of unforeseen proportions when a Jordanian soldier fired his assault rifle at a group of Israeli schoolgirls sightseeing in the Jordan valley, killing seven and wounding six.

The murders follow a period of unprecedented strain in relations between Jordan and Israel, and even if the killer proves to have been deranged, the massacre will further poison the political atmosphere. Nor are yesterday's killings likely to

be an end of the bloodshed; in relations between Israel and the Arabs, one act of violence is usually answered by another.

The killing of the children was cold-blooded and impulsive. "He started shooting from a nearby hill and ran towards the children, still firing until he was only about a metre away," said an eyewitness. "He was aiming at the head. He wanted to kill."

The schoolgirls had crossed the Jordan river over an old Bailey bridge, passing through old minefields, and had just got out of their bus amid fields of yellow mustard when the gunman, a 26-year-old army driver, identified as Ahmed Mousa, opened fire.

He fired for about 30 seconds at the schoolchildren until he was overpowered by other Jordanian soldiers when he paused to put a fresh clip of ammunition in his rifle. The shooting took place in the so-called Island of Peace, at Naharim, on the Jordan river, which is Jordanian territory but where Israelis are free to visit.

The girls, all aged between 12 and 14, came from an Orthodox Jewish school at Beit Shemesh, west of Jerusalem, and were on a three-day bus tour of northern Israel. "All the girls screamed and cried and ran away into the bushes to hide," said Hila Itri, 14, later in hospital. "Many girls were hurt and bloody. I was hit in the leg. I saw the gunman. He was a bad guy with big eyes. I saw a girl who was hit in the shoulder. She rolled over in the bushes and stopped breathing."

King Hussein of Jordan, who was on an official visit to Spain, said he would immediately fly home, postponing his meeting with President Bill Clinton next week. He said the killings had affected him as if the bullets had been fired "at me and my sons and daughters". In Washington Mr Clinton said it was a "senseless denial of a future for these children".

Relations between Israel and Jordan were already deteriorating. At the weekend, King Hussein wrote an angry letter to Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli Prime Minister, saying that as a result of his policies Arabs and Israelis were "fast sliding towards an abyss of bloodshed and disaster".

Several Israeli ministers yesterday accused King Hussein of creating the atmosphere in which the attack at Naharim took place.

However, Israeli and Jordan officers manning the border posts at Naharim yesterday were keen to show that they were still co-operating.

General Uzi Dayan, the Israeli commander on the West Bank and in the Jordan valley,



Israeli schoolgirls mourn the death of seven of their friends, gunned down by a Jordanian soldier as they stepped from a bus in the Jordan Valley

Photograph: Yoav Lemmer/AFP

crossed into Jordan to visit some of the wounded girls who had been taken to hospital in the nearby village of Shuma. "This is a warm frontier in the good sense," said one Israeli officer.

But there were more covert signs that relations were strained. A Jordan captain manning a checkpoint through

which the girls had passed admitted he and his men had been told to hand in their ammunition clips. One Israeli witness claimed Jordanian soldiers at first "stood around" and did nothing when the shooting began. Others said that at first the Jordanians would not allow Israeli first aid teams to enter their territory. David Levy, the

Israeli Foreign Minister, said: "Who knows how many of these gun-toting lunatics are waiting for the green light in the form of a remark in which Israel is being described in the way it is being described today."

The shooting took place on a piece of land which had been heavily fortified prior to the Israeli-Jordanian peace treaty of

1994. At the crossing point into Jordan, there are still the remains of concrete pillboxes with machine-gun slits, a blown bridge and red notices with a skull and crossbones warning of mines in Arabic, Hebrew and English. When the peace treaty was signed, Jordan gained sovereignty but Israelis could farm the land and visit as tourists.

The killing will increase the sense of crisis in the region. It may relieve the international pressure on Mr Netanyahu not to build a Jewish settlement at Har Homa in Jerusalem. Nothing is known of Ahmed Mousa, the gunman, other than he came from a nearby Jordanian town and had been posted to the border this year.

# Navy sails in as Albania collapses

Two Royal Navy destroyers were steaming towards the Albanian coast last night as the Government prepared to rescue about 120 British nationals trapped in the anarchy-ridden country. The HMS *Birmingham* and HMS *Exeter* swung into action after officials postponed an attempt to evacuate the stranded Britons by air.

"It is extremely difficult to get anything in by air," a Foreign Office spokesman said. "There are people running around the airport with weapons. There is a great deal of indiscriminate firing and chaos."

With President Sali Berisha's soldiers and police having surrendered control of most towns to civilians armed with stolen guns, it appeared that the Albanian leader faced little choice last night but to flee his country.

## QUICKLY

Labour's 25-point lead Labour has a 25-point lead in today's Harris poll for *The Independent*, with seven weeks until the general election. It is on 52 per cent, one point lower than last week's poll. The Tories are down on 27 per cent, and the Liberal Democrats up 4 to 14 per cent. Page 6

## South West cuts

South West Trains, dubbed the worst in Britain, is planning to cut rush-hour rail services from its summer schedules, according to documents obtained by *The Independent*. Page 3



EMMA DALY in Tirana

Boys as young as 8 and 9 brandished rifles, adding to the terrifying sense of lawlessness

Most police appear to have pulled out of Tirana, and many conscripts have deserted their posts in Elbasan, an industrial town in a valley near Tirana. "It has become a case of every man for himself and for every man a gun," it was fine until two days ago, and then they started raiding the armories," said Gaenor Hall, a British missionary based in the northern town of Pishaterez. "There's a lot of anarchy, a lot of people stealing flour from the army barracks," added her colleague, Tom Hudson.

Boys as young as 8 and 9 brandished rifles, adding to the terrifying sense of lawlessness

rifles, machine-guns, uniforms and gas masks. Boys as young as 8 and 9 brandished rifles and had ammunition boxes, adding to the terrifying sense of lawlessness.

As looters ransacked military supplies at will, a building shuddered in the distance. "I don't think people here want

any political party. We're against Berisha because he took our money," said Ilii Kamami, an Elbasan resident.

At the headquarters of a tank division, half a mile away, dormitory buildings were ablaze as gypsies hoisted tables, chairs and cupboards on to horse-drawn carts. Hundreds of other locals flogged for guns and all around, every minute, was the crackle of gunfire, meaningless but dangerous.

The new caretaker government, formed to appeal rebels in southern Albania, does not appear to control anything.

Tirana is out of government hands and, although neither the army nor police seem to want a fight, gangsters are making the most of this tumultuous period of mob rule.

The capital's streets were quiet yesterday afternoon, save

for the rattle of occasional gunfire. As night fell, groups of armed civilians began to move freely around the city and the gunfire became more frequent.

During the southern uprising of the past 10 days, gunmen have to some extent policed the anti-Berisha mutiny sparked last month by the collapse of corrupt investment schemes. The gunmen have formed blockades, checked documents and hounded out secret policemen.

But in towns such as Elbasan, where guns are now selling at \$5 (£3) a piece, public order has all but disintegrated.

"This is the spirit of Albania, born of the eagle. They like this," one man said, pointing at a small boy with a gas-mask and a gun. Further reporting by Adrian Hadland

Andrew Gumbel, page 18

# Bonuses lost in NatWest scandal

Michael Harrison

The Serious Fraud Office was last night standing by to go into NatWest after bonuses worth £1m a piece were docked from a handful of executives over a scandal in its investment banking arm.

The Bank of England and City regulators were also being kept informed as it emerged that the affair has left a £90m black hole in NatWest Markets. The losses centre round the mispricing of a complex financial in-

strument known as interest rate options.

Four senior employees of NatWest Markets were yesterday suspended from duty pending further inquiries by lawyers and forensic accountants brought in by the bank.

Meanwhile, £8m in bonuses due to a small group of executives in its debt derivatives business, thought to number about eight, will not now be paid.

The chief executive of NatWest Markets, Martin Owen, has also agreed to for-

go £200,000 of his £500,000 annual bonus for last year as "an act of leadership."

The trader responsible for the loss, Kyriacos Papouli, has already left NatWest and his immediate boss has also been suspended. A spokeswoman for the SFO said last night: "NatWest and its professional advisers have been in touch with us concerning their review of NatWest Markets interest rate options trading. We are monitoring the situation and are in touch with the regulators but we

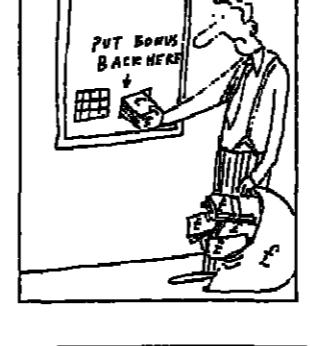
have not yet begun an investigation."

The internal investigation has not uncovered any evidence that the mispricing was carried out for personal gain. But investigators have established that the trades in question were transferred between different accounts, making them more difficult to detect.

NatWest said the practice had been going on since late 1994 but had only come to light this February.

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Follow the ball...



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# 'Worst railway' to cut rush-hour services

Randeep Ramesh  
Transport Correspondent

South West Trains, dubbed the worst line in the country, is planning to cut rush-hour services from its summer schedules, according to documents obtained by the *Independent*.

The company, which has already wiped 59 trains from its daily timetables after laying off 70 drivers - 10 per cent of the workforce - will also replace

## EXCLUSIVE

South Hampshire in the 'peak period'.

Trains to be scrapped include the 7.30am Eastleigh-to-Portsmouth and the busy afternoon ride from Portsmouth to Southampton. The proposals also mean late-night passengers between Portsmouth and Southampton will face a change of train at Eastleigh. Another late service from Eastleigh to Portsmouth will be dropped from the timetable.

Many stations will also be dropped from the company's summer timetable. The 7.15am train from Lympstone Pier to Waterloo will only go as far as Brockenhurst, which will cost the commuter towns of Ashurst, Totton and Redbridge a service into London.

The moves come into force with the summer timetable in June and have been agreed by Optrail, the office of passenger franchising which let the service, and Railtrack, the company which co-ordinates the schedules between rail firms.

Rail-passenger groups said their warnings had been ignored. "These services were not protected by the passenger-service requirements and hence we have seen them cut as we predicted," said a spokesman for the Railway Development Society. Both the passenger watchdog, the rail-users consultative committee, and

Hampshire county council objected to the changes. Insiders said there was little time to gauge public reaction because of the rush to get the proposals accepted.

The proposals, which were condemned yesterday by Opposition MPs and passenger groups and come a week after rail enthusiasts claimed private firms in the South of England had cut trains and failed to meet agreed targets for late departures and excessive journey times. "What we are beginning to see is the extent of the cutbacks which companies are imposing on travellers in a mad rush to cut the grant from the government and push up their profits," said Jonathan Bray, a spokesman for Save Our Railways, an anti-rail privatisation lobby group.

The Labour Party said that the franchising director is on his last ride.

A spokesman for Glenda Jackson, Labour's junior transport spokesman, said: "Rail services are now disintegrating as rapidly as the Government. Ministers need to step in and control the monster they have created."

A spokeswoman for SWT said last night: "Some services will have been cut in a bid to reduce over-crowding on trains in the London area."

Hazardous journey, page 24

Brett Allen is innocent

## Fact or fiction. Will the real Brett Allen please stand up?

Clare Garner

"Brett Allen is innocent" the billboards have been screaming - yet another miscarriage of justice, perhaps, a man wronged?

The name has been embazoned on billboards all over the country much to the bemusement of Brett Allen, the student from St Albans who has become entangled in a promotional campaign for a new novel.

Yesterday, the "real" Brett Allen came face-to-face with the publisher of a book whose advertising campaign takes his name in vain.

"Who is Brett Allen?" he asked the marketing director of Random House. "It's a fictional character - a woman," came Mark McCallum's reply.

"Is there a real Brett Allen?" he continued. "Somebody's



Literary reflection: The real Brett Allen (above) at the launch of the book *The Final Judgement*; and, left, the promotional poster by Saatchi and Saatchi

Photograph: Nicola Kurtz

cousin is actually called Brett Allen," replied Mr McCallum, family amused: "Apparently they are being driven crazy by seeing their name up everywhere. We've gone for it big time - to raise the profile of the author."

"I wouldn't like to be the real Brett Allen!" exclaimed the real Mr Allen. Mr McCallum agreed: "He was supposed to be saying his life has been made a misery by this," he remarked casually.

Mr Allen had come to London to clear his name. Posters have been plastered on walls outside law courts, police stations and railway stations to give the impression of a subversive prisoner protest campaign. The words were beamed into the sky for the whole of London to see and crime correspondents were

anonymously urged to take up the case.

Yesterday it was revealed that it was all part of a Saatchi and Saatchi's campaign to promote *The Final Judgement*, in which a woman called Brett Allen is accused of the murder of her boyfriend.

But in raising the profile of their best-selling American author, Richard North Patterson, Random House has inadvertently trodden on the toes of the 20-year-old psychology graduate with the same name.

"Obviously I want to disassociate myself from it. Because if it had been 'Brett Allen is great' or 'Brett Allen is cool' I wouldn't have minded that. Or even 'Who is Brett Allen?' - that would have been OK."

Whilst he hopes that it will work in his favour, his brush with fame has already alerted

him to its price. "I've had calls from people who I don't know. You look at the colour display and it's a withheld number. It becomes a bit sinister."

And the paranoia has begun to creep in. "I'm kind of worried that to a certain extent it's some kind of premonition for

the future. I'm a little superstitious. It could come true. That's lurking in the deep recesses of my mind."

Saatchi and Saatchi was delighted to hear of Mr Allen's existence. "I do think it's an excellent twist that there's a real Brett Allen out there," said a

spokeswoman. "It's quite amazing that it's affected him enough to call you. Obviously the campaign must be provoking some interest."

And when Mr McCallum heard that he had in fact been speaking to the real Mr Allen, he was surprised of "the likelihood that ultimately someone in the future will say, 'Hey, that's me'."

He dismissed any suggestion that Mr Allen may suffer from the publicity. "I really would be very surprised if it had any particular impact on his life," he said.

## Red noses offer bouquet to young homeless

Nicole Vass

As Agnes and Rachel sit on the concrete step talking to 22-year-old Chris, the London sky brightens. The two women, one from West Africa, the other from Devon, live thousands of miles apart but they have a common purpose: helping young people off the streets and back into society.

Tamale is an impoverished city in north Ghana, where Agnes Chiravira, 38, is co-ordinator of a project which helps children - some as young as three but most in their early teens - to get off the streets and back into the mainstream community.

Back in Britain, 39-year-old Rachel Crane works at the London Connection, a day centre for homeless young people which offers advice, support and a warm place to meet for a chat.

Both projects are heavily funded by Comic Relief, which has raised £1.2m for disadvantaged people in Britain and Africa since comedian Lenny Henry first introduced Red Nose Day nine years ago.

The pair are about to embark on a 10-day partnership, in which they will swap stories and advice, pick up tips and discuss the problems of helping young people who are homeless.

"I am amazed at the similarities between homelessness in Britain and Ghana," says Rachel. "The causes seem to be so similar. There is often the trauma of family break-up and the grip of poverty. Homelessness is the same the world over."

On first inspection, the problems of dealing with the homeless in Britain and Ghana seem to be quite similar, but it would be naive to say that things are wholly alike.

Agnes, whose year-old project caters for more than 600 children on a daily basis, thinks



Nosing along: The actors Rupert Graves and Tara Fitzgerald dressed up for Comic Relief's Red Nose Day

her youngers are somehow more humble than their English counterparts. "We don't have welfare systems so a lot of the children are very young when they are forced to live on the streets."

By contrast, Britain's homeless children are generally older.

Troubled youths fall out of

social services care only when the reach 16. And illegal drugs, glue and alcohol are an easy way to escape the misery of failing in the sometimes judgmental eyes of family and society.

Yet when Agnes sits down to talk to Chris, the differences in their background and experience evaporate into the Spring air.

The young Glaswegian, who has been homeless for six years, is at first embarrassed to talk about his current situation, but as the African woman, unfamiliar with the streets of London, puts her hand on his knee and stares into his bloodshot eyes, he starts to relax.

"You just have to be positive because the rest of your life is before you," she tells Chris. "I say this to all my children. Never give up hope and never say you are desperate." Chris nods his head, appearing to agree with this optimistic view of his life.

The women have already decided to swap a couple of ideas. Agnes is particularly impressed with London Connection's cheap meals service and Rachel likes the concept of helping young homeless to set up their own artisan businesses.

As we leave the young man, sitting on his step in the busy Soho street, Agnes turns round to look at him. "When I first started working with the children I used to cry every day," she says with tears in her eyes. "Perhaps things will be the same in London after all."

Events are taking place throughout the United Kingdom in aid of Comic Relief today, including a celebrity fun run through the City of London, a tripe-eating record attempt in West Yorkshire and a sponsored abseil down the Avon Gorge. The day culminates in a seven-hour Comic Relief television special starting at 7pm on BBC1.

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## news

## Unfriendly berth as floating prison arrives from America



It is not pretty, and it is not welcome. Britain's first floating prison for a century was yesterday inching its way into Portland

Harbour on the Dorset coast. Riding piggy-back on an ocean-going barge, the 100ft-tall HM Prison Weare, designed to hold 480 low-

risk prisoners, made its grand entrance at midday. There was no welcoming committee to greet what the Prison Service believes

is a solution to the overcrowding crisis. Residents of Portland were unenthusiastic yesterday at the ship's arrival, claiming that it,

combined with the peninsula's existing two jails, the area was rapidly becoming a penal colony.

Photograph: Brian Harris

# Council trips lead to police inquiry

Christian Wolmar  
Westminster Correspondent

The police have been called in to investigate the running of Labour-controlled Doncaster Council, after a critical report by the district auditor published earlier this year.

Investigations by South Yorkshire Police's Commercial Branch are thought to focus on the expenses claims of some councillors who went on foreign trips. The district auditor's report drew attention to the fact that trips to various parts of the world, including China, Japan, Poland, Sweden and the United States, appeared not to have been authorised, and had not been the subject of any reports about their purpose to other councillors.

Yesterday, a police spokesman said that officers were "analysing a number of documents" following a meeting with the district auditor, but it was "too early to say whether there is any evidence of any criminal offence having been committed".

The news of the police investigation came as it emerged that the scope of the district auditor's investigations have been widened to include the actions of several council officials who are thought to have gone on overseas trips. Because of the police investigations, a second report by the district auditor, scheduled to be published later this month, will probably now not be issued until after the

general election. The Labour Party has also widened the scope of its own enquiries into the affair. Neil Swan, a former councillor who has written to Tony Blair about his concerns that the council was being run by a small group within the Labour party, called the Ministers' Community Group, has been told in response that the whole local party is being investigated.

In response to his letter, Sally Moxley, the head of party liaison, said that "the procedure and conduct of Doncaster District are under scrutiny". The Labour Party had previously been reluctant to say it was investigating its councillors, arguing that it was awaiting the second report of the district auditor.

However, Mr Blair's office has received a wide range of complaints about the running of the local party and the role of the Ministers' Community Group, and the party leader is known to be keen to ensure that Labour has a clean image in local government.

Mr Swan welcomed the party's investigation: "I don't suppose they will do anything before the general election, but I hope that afterwards they are going to throw a lot of people out of the party to enable Doncaster to make a fresh start."

Last week, Peter Welsh, the leader of the council, and Ray Stockhill, the deputy leader, stood down from their posts because of the criticisms in the report.

## Heseltine's wife given post as V&A trustee

Colin Brown  
Chief Political Correspondent

Anne Heseltine, wife of the deputy Prime Minister, Michael Heseltine, was last night appointed by John Major as a trustee of the Victoria and Albert Museum for the next five years. The role is not remunerated.

Mrs Heseltine is currently a trustee of the Imperial War Museum, but Downing Street said she would stand down when her present work there was completed. The new appointment, with a general elec-

tion so close, may raise a few eyebrows, but Mrs Heseltine has a long-term interest in the V & A, which houses collections of fine art, craft and design. She has been a visitor of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford since 1989 and is also a member of the Tate Gallery British art consultative committee.

Professor Christopher Frayling, rector of the Royal College of Art, becomes an ex-officio member of the V & A board of trustees and like Mrs Heseltine, Professor Christopher White, director of the Ashmolean, also joins.

## 6 OF THE BEST

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- 7.45pm *Gold Horses*
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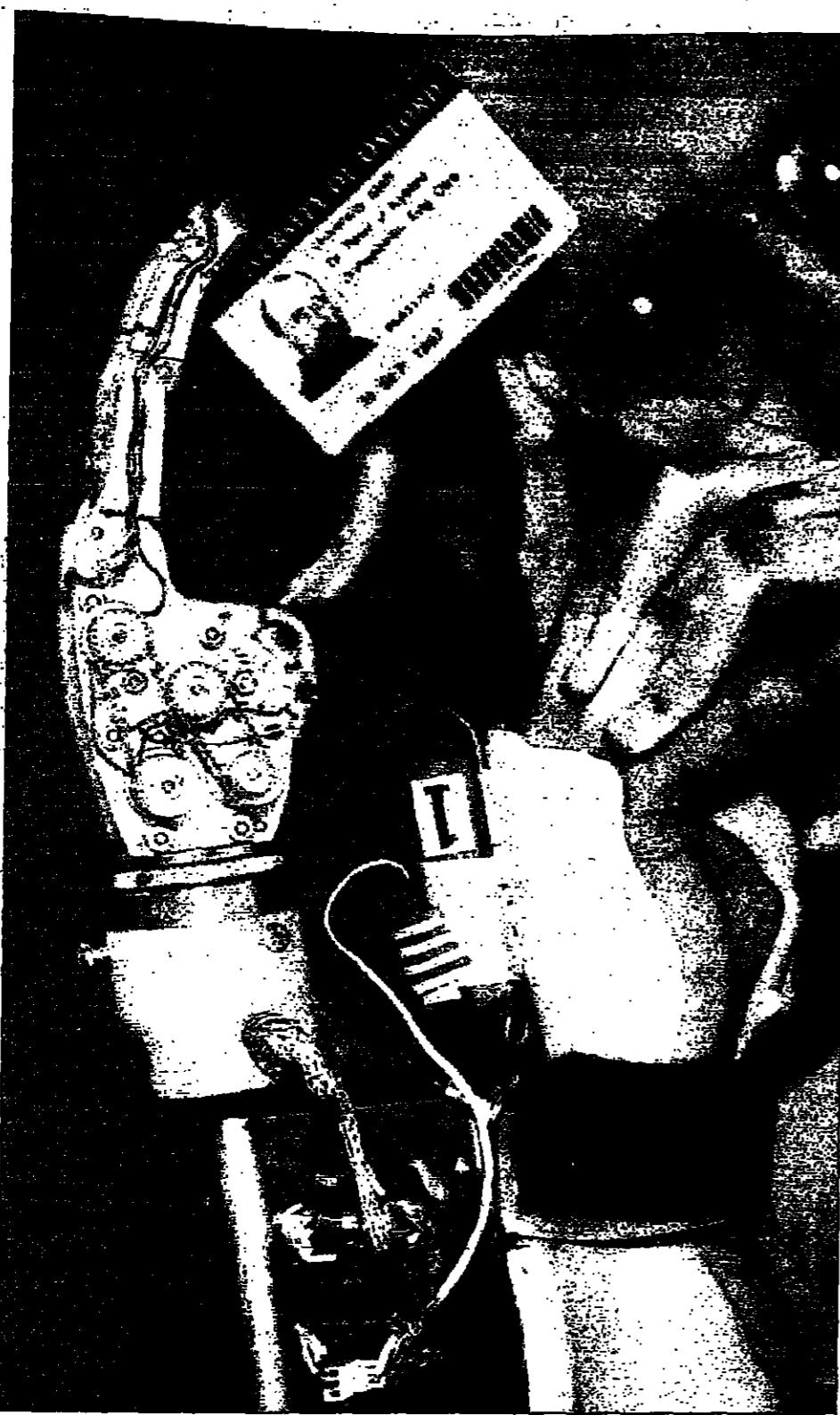
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We have the technology: Dr Kyberd with his robotic arm

Photograph: Colin McPherson

## Robots extend the extra strong arm of friendship

Charles Arthur  
Science Editor

Robots were always meant to lend a helping hand, and this one does, literally. It is a robot prosthetic hand strong enough to hold a weight equivalent to four kilogram bags of sugar, which is self-contained apart from batteries and two printed circuit boards.

Built by a team at the Nuffield Orthopaedic Centre and the engineering science department at Oxford University, the hand is intended to replace a human one and is operated by sensing the movement of the muscles in the user's forearm.

The most important thing

about a prosthetic is that it should be more like a pair of glasses than a hip replacement," said Peter Kyberd, who helped develop the hand over the past three years.

"It should be something you put on in the morning and just wear, that you don't need training to use."

He is shown here operating the hand at the Robotix show in Glasgow's McLellan Galleries, where a huge variety of robots are on show for the next three days.

A number of amputees in the Oxfordshire area have already tried prototype versions of the hand, developed at a cost of £12,000. Dr Kyberd thinks that, for the moment, it is more

effective to operate it via the muscles than by techniques requiring surgery, such as a direct attachment to the nerves that were linked to the hand.

"Nerve attachment would be a huge invasion," he said. "This is better in that it just uses surface attachment: you tense muscles to close and open it, and to touch and to squeeze. If it feels that what it is touching is slipping, it will squeeze tighter."

The maximum that the hand can squeeze is roughly 4.5 kilograms. A normal hand can manage more than 10 times that amount - a range which Dr Kyberd says would be feasible for a robot hand, "though it would run the battery down faster".

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# Top-secret US spy plane crashed on British base

SAS scrambled to protect aircraft, whose existence is officially denied

Christopher Bellamy  
Defence Correspondent  
and Timothy Walker

A top-secret United States spy plane which flies on the edge of space at five times the speed of sound crashed at the British experimental airbase at Boscombe Down, Hampshire, in September 1994, according to a report in a leading military aviation journal. The SAS, the report said, was scrambled to throw a cordon round the wreckage, which was blown back to the US two days later.

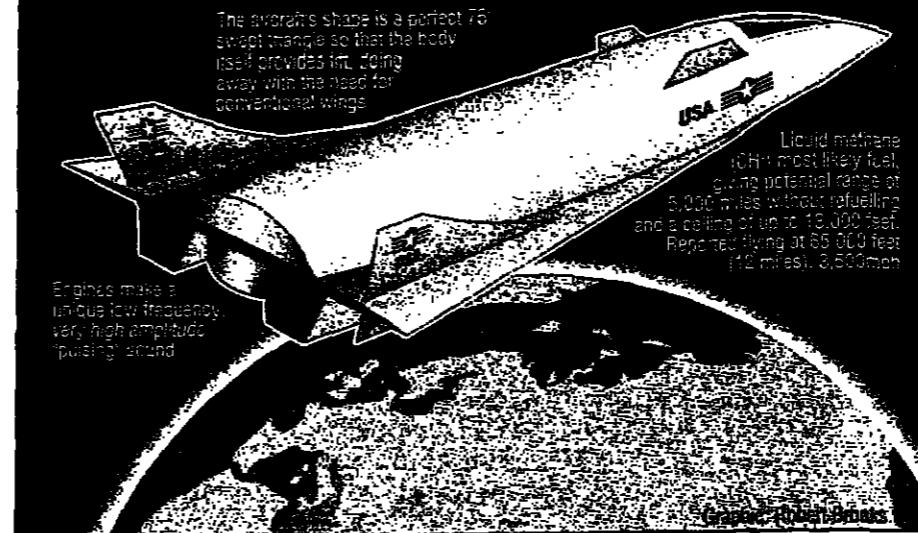
The hypersonic reconnaissance aircraft, called Astra or Aurora, is believed to have been developed in the 1980s as a secret US government "black programme".

Officially, the US denies the aircraft exists, although there have been many reports of mysterious sonic booms and sightings. This is the first report of such an aircraft crashing.

The British Ministry of Defence and the US Defense Department both denied the story yesterday but David Oliver, the editor of *Air Forces Monthly*, said that Royal Air Force officers had been among the sources in a two-year investigation of the incident, and that he was sure the report was true.

"We have no doubt that an

### Aurora top-secret hypersonic spy-plane



incident did happen on the day in question and it has never been satisfactorily explained by the authorities", Mr Oliver said.

*Air Forces Monthly* is widely read in the MoD and in the defence industry, both in Britain and in the US. The report says that the Astra (Advanced Stealth Reconnaissance Aircraft), or AV-6, or Aurora, crashed during take off on runway 23 at

Boscombe Down on the evening of 26 September 1994. London Air Traffic Control Centre was alerted that a serious incident had occurred. Later that night a witness reported seeing a tarpaulin screen around the front of the aircraft surrounded by a number of emergency vehicles. The witness said the rear section of the aircraft appeared to be raised, suggesting the nose-wheel had collapsed.

Witnesses also saw and photographed men in plain clothes arriving during the night, who were later identified as SAS. The following day an Agusta 109 helicopter - one of four captured Argentine helicopters used exclusively by the special forces - arrived. "The SAS arrived twice", Mr Oliver said.

The wreckage was kept under a tarpaulin in the corner of a hangar but was seen by wit-

nesses when the doors were opened to bring out a Buccaneer aircraft. The next unusual event was the arrival of a giant C-5 Galaxy transport plane, which is believed to have flown the wreckage back to the US on 28 September.

Reports of the new aircraft have been around for five years. In April 1992 a US radio ham intercepted a transmission from an aircraft descending from 65,000 feet, a height only reached by the Space Shuttle and the Cold War spyplane the U2 (later renamed TR1). Concorde, the highest and fastest civilian aircraft, flies at 59,000 feet.

In August 1992 unexplained sonic booms were measured over the Netherlands, prompting questions in the Dutch parliament. The path of the aircraft suggested it had flown from RAF Machrihanish on the north-west coast of Scotland. In December of that year *The Independent* reported claims by the crew of a boat in the North Sea that they had seen an Aurora and produced an artist's impression similar to the latest impression in *Air Forces Monthly*.

On other occasions radio hams intercepted transmissions from unidentified high-flying jets requesting permission to land at Machrihanish, though that airfield has now closed.

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## politics

When Treasury questions started yesterday, there was a strange form occupying three or four inches of green leather on the third Tory bench, something that really shouldn't have been there. Who was this hunched figure - the clothes hanging loosely off the bone: a jacket draped from the scapulae, a pair of trousers covering femurs and humeri, a lank lock of hair flopping over the bare skull? Give the spectre a scythe, and the picture would be completed.

That old thespian Michael Fabricant - usually drawn to any celebrity or curiosity like a gaudy moth to a flame - suddenly learned the value of geographical discretion, and banished himself to a bench a long way away, from where he stared at Death with the round-eyed horror of a child.

It was ousted Tory rebel Sir George Gardiner, now the only representative on earth of Sir James Goldsmith and the Referendum party: a John the Baptist sent amongst us to tell of that which is yet to come. And this Baptist is well-cast. If he hasn't been dining only on locusts and ditch-water for twenty years, he sure looks as though he has. Except often

DAVID Aaronovitch

## 'Til Death us do part ...

he doesn't finish the locusts. Two rows in front of him, taking up enough space for five Gardiners, was his polar opposite, Ken Clarke. Ken has enough colour in his cheeks for two men; George would fail to lend hue to a paramaecium. Ken likes going to jazz clubs; George enjoys funerals. Ken sips pints of fermentation ale; George sips bile from a broken glass.

Disappointingly Death didn't stay. He'd bagged his place and would return to stalk even bigger prey. With Prime Minister's questions coming, it wasn't the ventriloquist he was after, but the dummy himself. While he popped back to the wilderness for a late lunch (root and two berries), the House filled up.

But wait! Here was Sir George again, replenished: the last berry still visible halfway down his neck. There was tumultuous applause, except it was, of course, from the Labour benches, one of whom raised this emanation in his cheeks for two men: "George would fail to lend hue to a paramaecium." Clarke quipped, "but he has moved away from me". At this, Death raised his face to the heavens and made one of those exaggerated faces of disgust that - in boy's school - is occasioned by sudden, unpleasant smells.

Here was the Prime Minister now, sitting down and having his shoulder tapped by Mr Fabricant. I couldn't hear what was said, but I imagine that Mr F said:

"Psst! PM! Gardiner's here!" And Major replied: "Get your tongue out of my ear, Fabricant!"

Then Prime Minister's questions began. And between each one, Sir George was plucked upwards as though by some hidden heavenly hand, only to subside again, uncalled. It seemed as though his message was to doomed to go unheard. Then, to a huge cheer from Labour, Speaker Betty called his name. Once more he rose, and - with a modest inclination at the pelvis - bowed to the multitude.

In his not unpleasant voice, he referred to the campaign being run by the European Movement to scrap the pound, move to a federal Europe and slaughter the firstborn. Given that this organisation got money from the EU - and the EU got money from Britain, "how much of taxpayer's money has been laundered in this way?"

Mr Major was undaunted. There was, he said innocently, "quite a lot of money available on both sides". That was it: questions were over - and Death rattled out, surrounded by silent Tory MPs.



Top dogs: The Conservative MPs who won the Westminster Dog of the Year contest yesterday. From left: John Whittingdale, with Humphrey; Phillip Oppenheim, Vorn and Peter Brooke, with Koki

Photograph: Emma Boam



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## Labour in 25 point lead as pollsters face big test

John Rentoul

Labour maintains a 25-point lead in today's Harris poll for *The Independent*, as polling companies prepare for an election which will test their new methods and their credibility.

The party, on 52 per cent, is one point lower than in last week's poll, with the Conservatives down three to 27 per cent. Too much should not be read into these changes, which could partly reflect the shift in the Liberal Democrat figure, up from 10 to 14 per cent - more in line with other polls.

A poll by Opinion Research Business, a breakaway from Gallup, for yesterday's *London Evening Standard* showed a similar Labour lead of 24 points. The trend in polls is significant since the Wirral South by-election two weeks ago.

Comparing three post-Watch polls with the same polls before the by-election, Labour's lead widened by an average of five points.

With only seven weeks to go, a Tory party official sounded a faintly despairing note: "The longer we delay the election, the more the gap will close."

John Major must hope that the polls are as wrong as they were last time - and more. In 1992, the Tories won by a margin of 7.6 percentage points,

### THE INDEPENDENT HARRIS POLL

#### Voting intentions

Labour	52%
Conservative	27%
Liberal Democrat	14%
Others	7%

The Independent/Harris Poll results. Harris Research interviewed 1,040 adult face-to-face in their homes between 7 February and 10 March.

rather than the one-point average Labour lead shown by the final opinion polls. But it seems unlikely that they will be as far out among pollsters as they were last time.

The debate among pollsters

over the past five years has been occasionally bad-tempered and partly inconclusive.

Most pollsters accepted that they would have to overhaul their methods, with Nick Sparrow, of ICM, leading the way with instant research into the causes of the failure and experiments with new techniques.

Bob Worcester, of MORI, was

most defensive, but MORI has

also changed its methods.

It is now generally agreed that

there were four causes of the

polls' error in 1992, although no

one can say how important each one was. One has definitely been solved; the other three have been tackled in various ways, but no one will know until 2 May how successful these changes have been.

1. Out-of-date census-type information. All polls adjust their findings to make up for the fact that they have interviewed too few men, too many pensioners, too few rich people, and so on.

This is called weighting. In 1992, the pollsters thought the electorate was more working class than it actually was. NOP's unweighted figures, for example, were more accurate than the figures they published.

2. Late swing. Some voters changed their minds in the last few days last time, or on election day. The main movements were from Labour to Liberal Democrats, and from Lib Dems to Tories. This time all pollsters are likely to call back on the telephone, the day before polling day, to people they have already interviewed to check if they have switched, which will give clues to any late swing.

3. Stay-at-homes. Tory voters were more likely to turn out last

time: a factor hard to separate from a late swing. All the pollsters can do at this time is ask people how certain they are to vote, although all the evidence is that it is the 'Tory vote, rather than Labour's, that is 'soft'. Our poll today finds 62 per cent of Labour voters "certain to vote", against 48 per cent of Tories and 33 per cent of Lib Dems.

4. Shy Tories. This is the really tricky problem: in 1992, Tory voters suddenly did not want to take part in opinion polls or, if they did, tell pollsters how they would vote. We might guess that, with Margaret Thatcher gone, there was no counterbalance to the fact that Tory voting had come to be seen as selfish or uncaring. With the Tories now breaking records for unpopularity, it is assumed that this "conspiracy of silence" still exists.

It is difficult to adjust for this, especially for those who refuse to take part in opinion polls. But the evidence from large random surveys conducted over long periods is that roughly equal numbers of people remember voting Labour and Tory at the last general election (people tend to revise their memories according to their present views). This might be a way of checking the reliability of polls.

In our poll today, Labour has a one-point lead in how people say they voted in 1992.

## Lib Dems make youth crime vow

Colin Brown  
Chief Political Correspondent

Competition to be tough on crime between Michael Howard, the Home Secretary, and Jack Straw, his Labour shadow, was condemned as "obscene" by Alex Carlile, the Liberal Democrat spokesman on home affairs.

"It's no more than a sort of spot the ball-and-chain competition," Mr Carlile, who is

standing down at the election, said on BBC radio. His remarks could mark a serious rift with Labour on its promised crackdown on law and order, if Labour wins the election.

He accused the other parties of "demonising a generation" by failing to come up with suitable youth crime prevention policies and putting too many young people behind bars inappropriately. "You see evidence time and time again that crime

prevention is the way to keep prison numbers down, not locking up more people in prisons.

The evidence that prison works as a way of preventing people from committing crime simply doesn't exist," Mr Carlile said.

His party promised to tackle youth crime by expanding youth sentencing and establishing targeted prevention schemes from an early age; and to stop the diversion of money from crime prevention

to prison building under the Crime and Sentencing Bill.

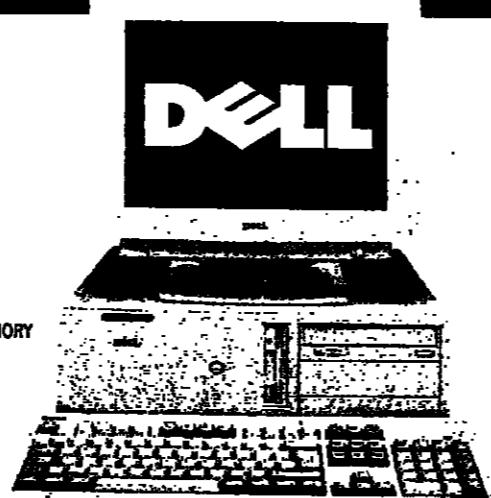
Victims would be given a new deal under Liberal Democrat plans to introduce a restorative approach to justice, in some cases requiring offenders to compensate for the damage caused to their victims. The party's manifesto will pledge a review of sentencing. Money would be diverted from jails to concentrate on preventing crime and increasing conviction rates.

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# Tories tried to water down nursery vouchers report

Fran Abrams  
Political Correspondent

Conservative MPs fought a fierce, unsuccessful rearguard action to water down the damaging findings of a Parliamentary inquiry on nursery vouchers which was leaked to the *Independent*, it emerged last night.

Details of how Tories on the House of Commons committee tried to wipe out every one of its most damaging conclusions emerged as the Prime Minister condemned the leak and an inquiry was launched into how it came about.

The six Labour and Liberal Democrat MPs on the committee voted to push its report through, while two Conservatives voted against it and four abstained. The report, which said the Prime Minister's flagship voucher scheme would be unlikely to raise standards or increase parental choice and that it might force private nurseries

to close, is due to be published next week.

Mr Major said yesterday that he felt "dismay that someone should have chosen to leak the report." The voucher scheme had increased choice for parents, he claimed. "Parents have choice specifically because of the voucher scheme. Without the voucher scheme the only

way to get a free nursery place would be to send your child to a state school," he said.

However, it became clear that one of the few criticisms supported by Conservatives on the Education and Employment Select Committee was in fact that the scheme squeezed private and voluntary providers rather than helping them.

## Staff-pupil ratios hit private sector

Lucy Ward  
Education Correspondent

A private day nursery is threatening to take Norfolk County Council to court to loosen tough restrictions on staffing ratios to help it compete with schools for nursery vouchers.

The move by Rainbow Day-care nursery at North Walsham in Norfolk – one of four pilot authorities for vouchers – will further embarrass the Govern-

ment a day after the scheme was criticised by the Tory-led Education and Employment Select Committee.

Private nurseries were among those expected to benefit from the vouchers, yet Rainbow claims it is losing out as schools "hoover up" four-year-olds. Its grievance, which it intends to take to the High Court, centres on a difference in the legal demands on private nurseries compared with schools over

Graham Riddick, Conservative MP for Colne Valley, fought a losing battle to remove its most damaging findings as the committee finalised its report on Wednesday evening.

He tabled amendments to its draft report which would have removed key criticisms and introduced congratulatory statements. Instead of saying the

evidence was "inconclusive" on whether the scheme would have increased places, it would have welcomed the fact that it had "resulted in places for pre-fives in educational settings."

On the quality of nursery

lessons, Mr Riddick wanted to add that Ofsted reports gave "significant grounds for optimism" despite the fact that most children would be in reception classes which might not provide proper nursery education. He also wanted to delete criticisms of poor English in Ofsted's inspection reports and of the "considerable amount of work" which would be placed on teachers.

Last night, the Conservative chairman of the committee, Sir Malcolm Thornton, said the committee was split over the report, and that he had used his chairman's casting vote twice during Wednesday's meeting – once against Labour and once against the Conservatives.



Hard to swallow: Tories demanded praise for the nursery scheme. Photograph: Brian Harris

## PRIME MINISTER'S QUESTIONS

SCORING THE EXCHANGES

John Major

Blair had given the Prime Minister a choice: he would be asking him to do what he had done to the victims of the Orgreave riot, or to the miners.

The exchange was not intended to catch the leaders caught in a cross火 of accusations.

THEMES OF THE DAY

Nursery vouchers (David Chidgey, TD, Eastleigh); North-east Kent (Bob Durkin, TD); Government control of non-consultative trade (David Steel); The Environment Agency; The Local Government Association.

BLAIR'S QUESTION

"Will the Prime Minister join with the Conservative Party in supporting the new day since the terrible events in Orgreave? We grieve with the people of South Wales over the miners. The Exchange was not intended to catch the leaders caught in a cross火 of accusations.

GOOD DAY...

John Major's answer to the question of whether he would be asking the Prime Minister to do what he had done to the victims of the Orgreave riot, or to the miners.

BAD DAY...

John Major's answer to the question of whether he would be asking the Prime Minister to do what he had done to the victims of the Orgreave riot, or to the miners.

THE QUIP OF THE DAY

John Major's answer to the question of whether he would be asking the Prime Minister to do what he had done to the victims of the Orgreave riot, or to the miners.

THE UNANSWERED QUESTION

John Major's answer to the question of whether he would be asking the Prime Minister to do what he had done to the victims of the Orgreave riot, or to the miners.

THE CREEP OF THE DAY

John Major's answer to the question of whether he would be asking the Prime Minister to do what he had done to the victims of the Orgreave riot, or to the miners.

Complied by Gary Sainsbury

## Thatcher's aides deny faith in Blair

Colin Brown  
Chief Political Correspondent

Danger" with posters of Mr Blair with demonic eyes. A spokeswoman for Lady Thatcher said she had no knowledge of the remarks, reported in a diary item in *The Times* at the weekend by Peter Stothard, the editor.

Mr Stothard, who declined to comment, described an evening in clubland in January in which an unnamed worried Tory from Gloucestershire had asked what sort of prime minister Mr Blair would make.

Mr Stothard quoted "a very senior Tory" replying: "Tony Blair is a man who won't let Britain down."

*Tribune*, the left-wing newspaper, today names the source as Baroness Thatcher.

But 24 hours after angrily denying Lady Thatcher was acting for Michael Portillo's leadership attempt to replace John Major, her office was forced to dismiss the Blair reports.

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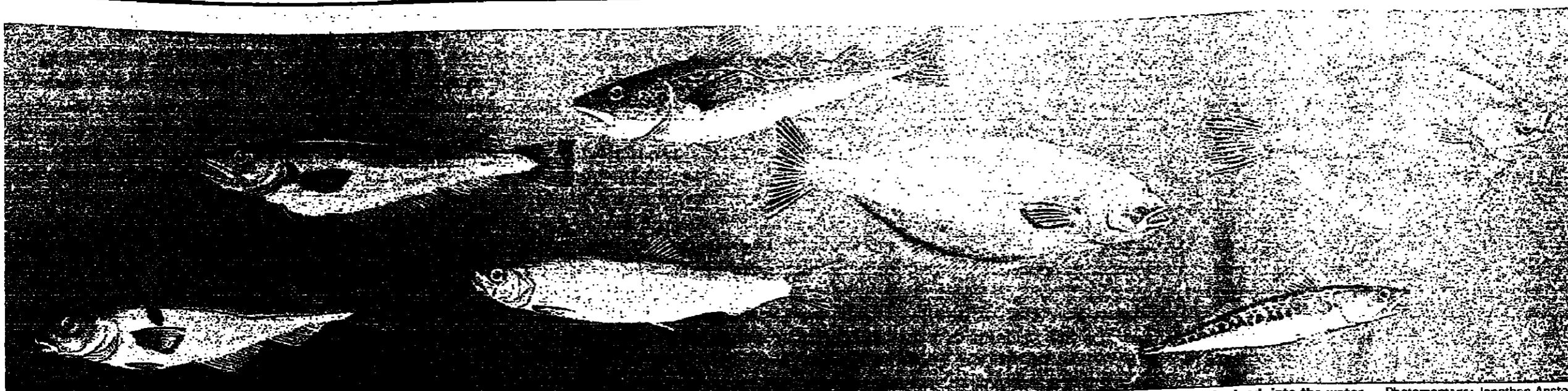
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Fish out of water: (Top from left) Whiting, cod, plaice; (bottom) haddock, herring, halibut and mackerel - all are at risk of over-fishing in the North Sea where they may be thrown back, dead, into the water. Photomontage: Jonathan Anstee

## Plenty more fish in the sea? Not any longer

Nicholas Schoon  
Bergen

Half the catch of cod and haddock from the North Sea is thrown back overboard, dead, environment and fisheries ministers from nine nations bordering the heavily over-fished sea were told yesterday.

The ministers, with two very different sets of responsibilities, are meeting at an international level for the first time in an attempt to change forever the politics and diplomacy of fishing. That, at least, is the stated goal of some, including the Secretary of State for the Environment, John Gummer.

Discarding over-quota fish "isn't unfortunate or silly, but basically wrong and indefensible," he told his fellow ministers from Norway and other Euro-

pean Union states the EU's common fisheries policy had failed. "We spend so much time sharing out the stocks that we haven't found a way of increasing them," he said. Some of the estimates for stocks allocated among the nations were "invented, paper fish" which did not exist in reality.

Coastal waters, the most endangered large stock, but fisheries ministers have failed, year after year, to introduce curbs and tough quotas which lift the risk of stock collapse for many species.

Lobbying by fishermen and their MPs leads to quotas being set which are often well above the recommended safety levels. The quota system also leads to vast quantities of fish being discarded because they are below the minimum legal landing size or because boats have al-

ready caught their allowance of the species.

The ministers were told yesterday that, by weight, 22 per cent of cod and 36 per cent of haddock were discarded. But the number of fish thrown back is put at 51 and 49 per cent respectively.

The joint declaration which the ministers will sign today aims to put North Sea fishing on a sustainable basis. It should also begin a new process of setting maximum annual catches and minimum safe-stock levels which would impose much tougher

limits on quotas. The declaration is expected to call for safety limits, as yet undecided, to be set within two years for 11 of the most important stocks, including cod, plaice, herring, mackerel, haddock and sand eel.

The Bergen meeting, which

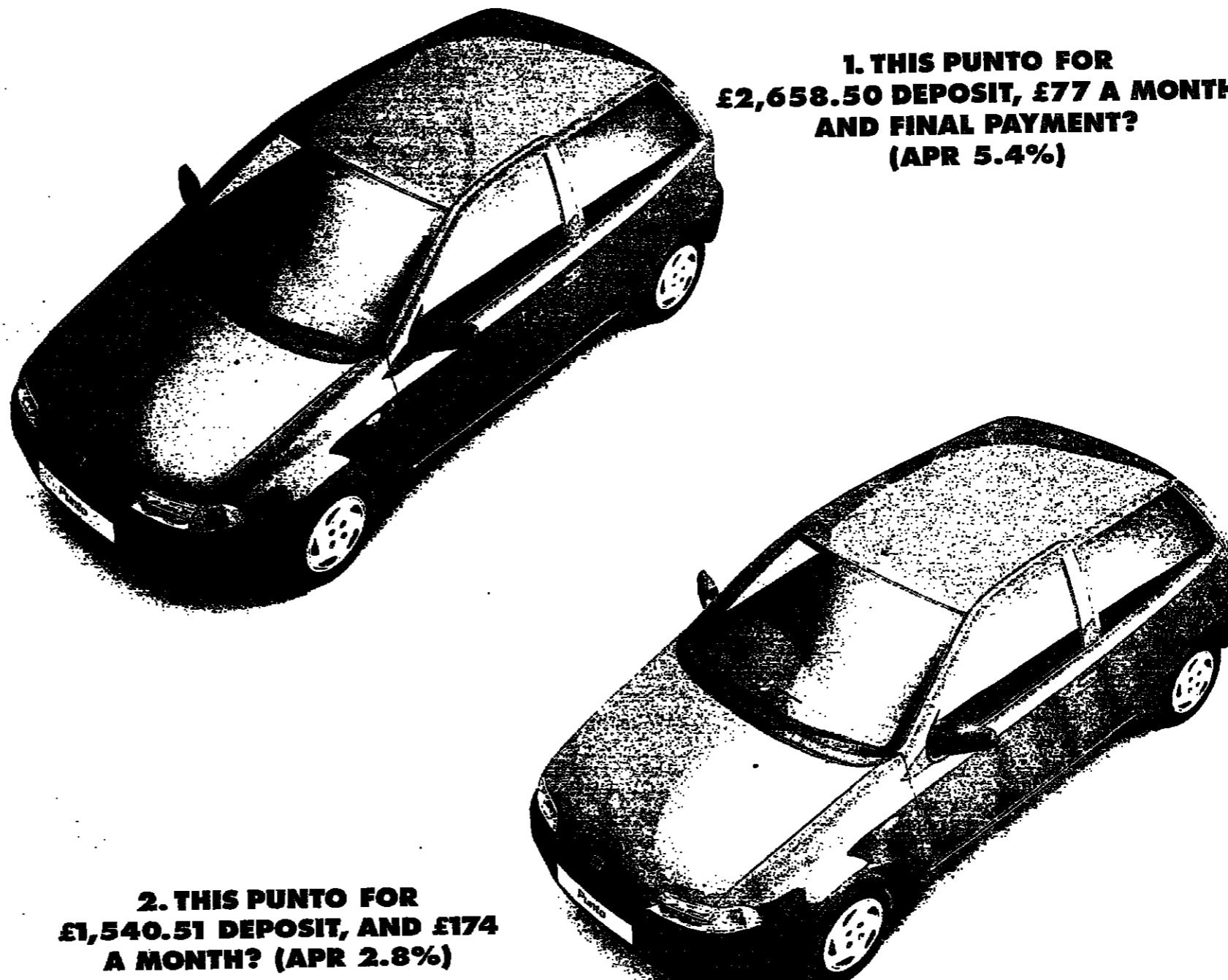
ends today, cannot change anything directly because the North Sea conference process, of which it is part, does not make fishing law and policy. That is the domain of the EU's Common Fisheries Policy, the Norwegian government, and whatever the

two of them agree in their regular negotiations. But the final ministerial declaration ought to give a strong political direction towards reforming the policy.

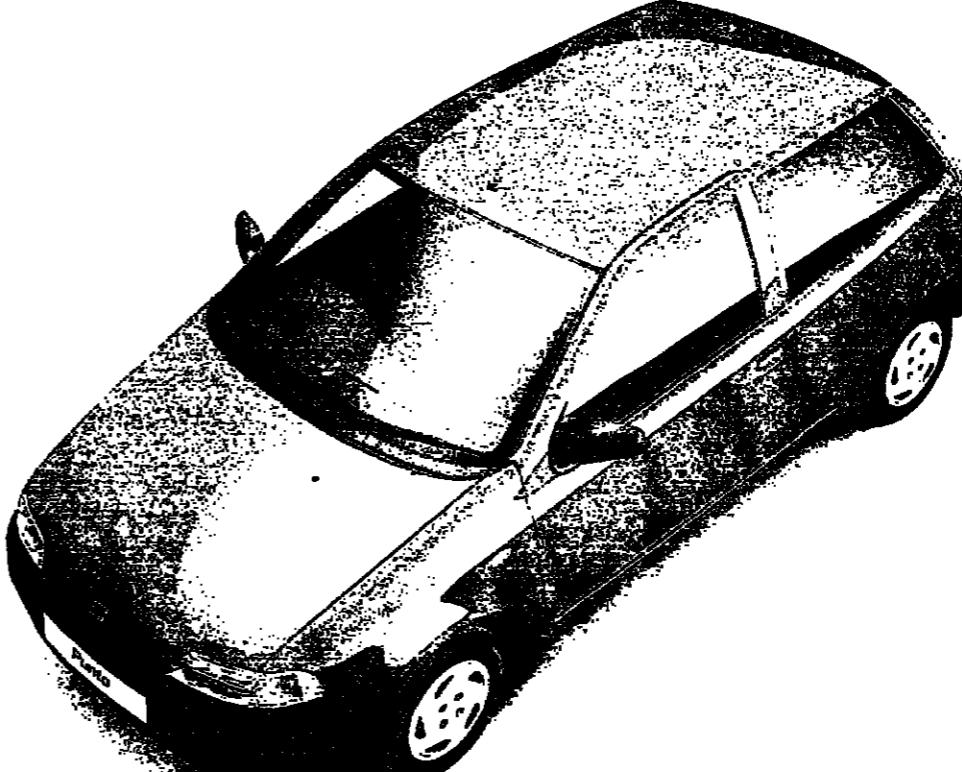
For Mr Gummer, yesterday brought the chance to renew his acquaintance with Norway's

plain-speaking Environment Minister, Thorbjørn Berntsen. The conference chairman. A few years ago he declared Mr Gummer "a shit-bag" when they disagreed about whaling. In Bergen yesterday Mr Gummer said they were friends.

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news

Forget the rumours about Ken. Billy, the gay doll with all his parts, takes the market by storm



Out of the closet: Billy, the world's first proud to be gay doll - and anatomically correct in every detail - modelling a range of outfits

Kate Watson-Smyth

For years there were rumours about Barbie's boyfriend, Ken, and everybody wondered whether GI Joe would come out of the closet. But now those bets are off - there is a new boy in town.

His name is Billy and he is the world's first out and proud gay doll, anatomically correct in every detail. Tall and blond with biceps and boxers bulging, Billy is taking America by storm.

The 13in tall doll, whose penis measures 1.5 inches, was launched at the New York

International Gift Fair less than a month ago and sold out within three days of delivery to the American stores.

John McKitterick, a former fashion designer for Rad or Dead, who designed Billy, is delighted.

"I was always sure he would

be 100 per cent successful because he is the first gay product that can be sold over-the-counter instead of under it," he said.

Mr McKitterick, who is gay, insisted that Billy is a responsible adult who has a message to convey. "We are taking gay-

ness out of the ghetto, but we are not saying that every gay man should look like this. We are trying to put out a message about individuality and persuading people that it is OK to be gay, to be different," he said.

"The point is that you should not judge people."

## Repairs backlog threatens schools

Lucy Ward  
Education Correspondent

A ticking "timebomb" of crumbling schools will explode in three to five years because planned spending on repairs is being cancelled in favour of emergency patching and mending, local authority architects warned yesterday.

A survey of 70 councils from shires to cities revealed the shortfall - between the billions authorities say is needed to repair crumbling schools and the cash the Government permits them to spend - has hit a 20-year high. This year, councils say their allocation represents just a fifth of what they had asked for to spend on schools building and repairs in 1997-98. The total available is almost £700m, but councils had asked for £1.9bn to ease an estimated repairs and maintenance backlog of £3.2bn.

Lancashire County Council is among the authorities forced to postpone major repair projects to find the cash for general maintenance.

The authority asked for permission to borrow £34.5m in 1997-98, but was granted approval for just over £5m. The entire sum is allocated for spending on new school places, leaving not a penny towards the £20m the council says is needed for repairs.

Ray Marriott, head of planning and community services, said the cash was needed to replace rotting and leaking Sixth-form school buildings.

He added: "It is beyond belief that the whole fabric of buildings deteriorates yet at the rate of school replacement we have at the moment some of our schools are going to have to wait 70 years to be renewed."

John Ryan, Labour education chairman of Bradford council, said the authority needed £200m to bring all its schools up to standard. However, the authority had won approval for only an eighth of the £40m repairs money it asked for to replace 149 roofs and remove asbestos from 148 schools, among other projects.

David Whittred, spokesman for the Association of County Councils, said most authorities saw their capital budgets eaten up on providing new school places and were unable to spend adequately on repairs.

A spokeswoman for the DfEE said the upkeep of buildings was the local authorities' responsibility. If they delayed, buildings would deteriorate and the final cost would increase.

"Instead of having a new roof you start putting out the buckets, which ultimately means greater cost and more disruption in schools. We appear to be entering a downward spiral towards a crisis in the next three to five years."

Local education authorities were told by the Department for Education and Employment in December that they would be allowed to borrow less than a

quarter of what they had asked for to repair schools in 1997-98.

"It is not that the British are not ready for him, just that he has been launched in America and he has done so well that we are trying to cement that," Mr McKitterick said. "When the time is right he will be sold in England."

Mr McKitterick is currently working on a "friend" for Billy, but his identity is a closely guarded secret.

"Billy is gay because I am gay, if I was a transvestite ... who knows," he said.

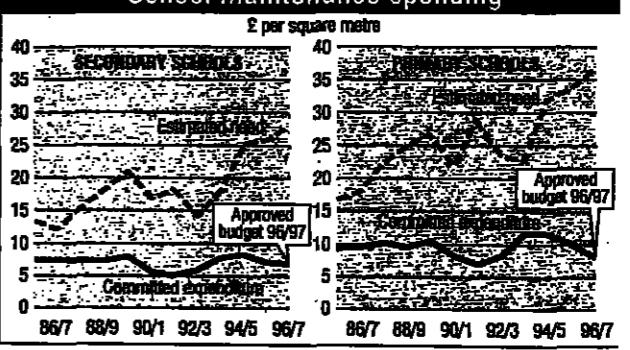
In the meantime, not to be outdone by his female counterparts, Billy has a range of simply gorgeous outfits. There is Wall Street Banker Billy, sailor Billy, cowboy Billy, Master Billy (very rubber and studs) and San Francisco Billy, who's just hanging out dude.

In two months' time Hollywood Billy will be on the scene, complete with shades and lyrca shorts.

Mr McKitterick's dearest wish is to build Billy his very own apartment, where he can entertain friends with the video from the song he has recorded.

Move over Ken, you are dated man.

### School maintenance spending



## NOTICE TO CUSTOMERS OF HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL (ISLE OF MAN) LIMITED.

Halifax International (Isle of Man) Limited, announces certain revised interest rates from 17th March 1997.

BALANCE	ANNUAL INTEREST GROSS P.A. %	MONTHLY INTEREST GROSS P.A. %
HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL GOLD 90		
£100,000+	6.40%	6.22%
£50,000+	6.30%	6.13%
£25,000+	6.05%	5.89%
£10,000+	5.45%	5.32%
HALIFAX INTERNATIONAL GOLD		
£100,000+	6.05%	5.89%
£50,000+	5.80%	5.65%
£25,000+	5.70%	5.56%
£10,000+	5.15%	5.03%
£5,000+	4.50%	4.41%
£500+	3.25%	3.20%

If you have less than £10,000 in your Halifax International Gold 90 account it will earn interest at the equivalent Halifax International Gold rate. If you have less than £500 in your Halifax International Gold 90 or Halifax International Gold account we will only pay interest at 1.00% gross p.a. "Gross" means we will not take any tax off the interest we pay. The accounts shown above are not available to residents of the Isle of Man.

Further details can be obtained by calling Halifax International (Isle of Man) Limited on 01624 612323 (from within the UK) or 44 1624 612323 (from outside the UK).



14 March 1997

MATSUI

VP9601  
4-HEAD NICAM STEREO VIDEO  
• Auto set-up.  
• VideoPlus with PDC for easy and accurate programming.  
• Long play/record facility increases recording time of tapes.  
Was £249.99.  
£249.99



Dixons Deal  
£229.99  
Exclusive to DSG Retail Ltd

9 MONTHS INTEREST FREE OPTION

349.99  
TOSHIBA VR25  
4-HEAD NICAM STEREO VIDEO  
• VideoPlus with PDC.  
• Long play/record facility.  
• Satellite control function.  
Was £349.99.  
£349.99

SONY SVET10  
4-HEAD NICAM STEREO VIDEO  
• Auto set-up.  
• Log/shuttle on remote handset.  
• VideoPlus with PDC and playback.  
Was £449.99.  
£399.99

Dixons Deal  
£399.99  
INTEREST FREE OPTION

0% INTEREST  
29.5% APR  
£100 Pay £10 monthly payments of £10.00 and the balance at the end of the 9 months.  
£200 Pay £20 monthly payments of £2.00 and the balance at the end of the 9 months.  
£300 Pay £30 monthly payments of £3.00 and the balance at the end of the 9 months.  
£400 Pay £40 monthly payments of £4.00 and the balance at the end of the 9 months.  
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# Afghans hope for peace in the pipeline

Christopher Bellamy  
Defence Correspondent

Two massive new pipelines are being planned to carry natural gas through the embattled territory of Afghanistan, from Turkmenistan in Central Asia to Pakistan and India.

Although Afghanistan is still regarded as unstable, two corporations – one from the United States and one from Argentina – have tabled plans to build pipelines to carry billions of cubic metres of gas from the ex-Soviet republic to southern Asia.

If one or both of the companies succeed, it will be the first large-scale private investment by the West in Afghanistan since the Soviet invasion in 1979.

The plans follow the discovery of a colossal deposit of 750 billion cubic metres of natural gas at Yashlar in Turkmenistan. Besides the potential commercial advantages to anyone with the courage to invest, western diplomats see the pipeline plan as a way of stabilising Afghanistan and the entire Central Asia region.

One pipeline is proposed by the Bridas Corporation, an oil and gas company which has an Argentinian director, and is based in the British Virgin Islands.



Battle weary: Afghanistan has seen little peace for decades. If its mineral wealth – or that of its neighbours – can be exploited, the country could enter a period of stability. Photograph: AP

ference" in a plan to export the Yashlar gas to Pakistan. Bridas has set up a joint venture with Turkmenistan to develop Yashlar in 1992. But in 1995, Turkmenistan granted Unocal rights to set up a consortium to build a pipeline from the Turkmen-Afghan border to Muztan.

Malcolm Hurstion, representing Bridas and speaking from Ashkhabad in Turkmenistan, said that in February 1996, Bridas had signed an exclusive agreement to build the pipeline with the Taliban, the Islamic group then controlling large parts of the south of the country.

This year, Bridas has visited all the different parties in Afghanistan and has confirmed the agreements with them to go forward with the project without waiting for the end of hostilities," he said.

Last month, Bridas also won a deal to upgrade the existing gas pipeline system in Kazakhstan, which forms part of the former Soviet network and carries Turkmen gas to Russia and on to Western Europe.

Yesterday, Mr Hurstion said he had been in negotiation with all three warring factions in Afghanistan, although the route envisaged passes through the area controlled by the Taliban, which now controls Kabul and most of Afghanistan.

The Bridas pipeline is planned to run from Mary in Turkmenistan through west and south Afghanistan to Sui in Pakistan, from where it is hoped it will link with existing pipelines into India. It will require six

compressor stations to keep the gas flowing, and will cost \$2.5bn. The Unocal proposal envisages a similar pipeline, ending nearby at Muztan, at a cost of \$1.9bn with the exten-

sion to northern India costing \$600m. Both proposals plan to send up to 20 billion cubic metres of gas a year.

The final decision to proceed will depend on a lasting peace

in Afghanistan – something anticipated by the two corporations.

The West has a strategic interest in exploiting the oil and gas resources of the area. If

Afghanistan, which has been at

war for 20 years, is to become stable, diplomatic sources said yesterday, a dollar-earner – oil and gas – or a pipeline carrying them – will help.

Britain also takes a wider

view of South Asian security. If India and Pakistan, with their vast and growing populations, are dependent on each other for access to the oil and gas deposits of Central Asia, they are less

lands. The other is proposed by the American Unocal Corporation, teamed with the Delta Oil Company of Saudi Arabia. Both propose four-foot diameter pipes, 800 miles long crossing Afghanistan and avoiding the most rugged mountains.

At present, the two corporations are in dispute. Bridas is pursuing two separate legal actions – one against Turkmenistan and one against Unocal, for its "tortious inter-

## Cult hero who fritters away state's wealth

Tony Barber  
Europe Editor

In a region with a rich tradition of luxury-loving, self-glorying despots, President Saparmurat Niyazov of Turkmenistan just about takes the biscuit. Every newspaper, every billboard, every banknote and every office in this desert nation has a picture of the man who is known to his people as "Turkmenbashi" (Leader of all the Turkmen).

"May my tongue shrivel up and my bones turn to ashes if I betray my country or my president," chant Turkmen children every morning. In Ashgabat, the capital, a statue of Mr Niyazov's mother nursing the president as a child depicts him as a Christ-like figure.

As Communist Party leader before the collapse of the USSR, and then as president of the first independent Turkmen state in history, Mr Niyazov has established a personality cult as huge as those of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. Towns, mosques and roads are named after the man who, according to his critics, is frittering away Turkmenistan's gas and oil wealth in an orgy of corruption and extravagant spending.

Avid Kulyev, a former Turkmen foreign minister who broke with the president in 1992, said: "Niyazov has begun to lead the people back into the Middle Ages. Beginning in 1991, when we achieved independence, we began to slip back from the level of development that we attained under Russian hegemony to the 19th century or possibly even the 18th."

Mr Kulyev told the magazine *Time*: "Niyazov was counting on the country being able to survive on the proceeds of our oil and gas, which would generate enough wealth that everyone would have a Mercedes, no one would have to work, and the population would be around drinking tea and thinking of nothing ... There is only one way out, by getting rid of his leader and this government."

According to the US-based

human rights group Freedom House, which ranks the performances of all the world's governments, Turkmenistan last year was one of the 17 most repressive countries on earth. With the average person's monthly income hovering at £10 or less and annual inflation of more than 300 per cent, most of its 4.5 million people do not even have the consolation of enjoying energy-derived personal wealth.

Since independence, Turkmenistan's development has been held back by two fundamental problems. One is its reliance on Russia to transport its gas – its main export – to the markets of Ukraine and the Transcaucasian states.

The other is that these countries are so poor that they have run up debts to Turkmenistan of about £1.25bn. If Mr Niyazov is to fill his treasury's coffers and start modernising his country, it is essential for Turkmenistan not only to collect its debts but to develop new markets.

This is one of the main impulses behind the Turkmen drive to build a gas pipeline across Afghanistan to Pakistan. Another is the desire to loosen the grip which Russia currently maintains on Turkmen export pipelines.

With prickly Uzbekistan, turbulent Afghanistan and zealous Iran for neighbours, Mr Niyazov is not foolish enough to think that either he or his vulnerable country can survive without Russian blessing. However, according to Mr Kulyev, that has not prevented Mr Niyazov from occasionally playing the anti-Russian card in an effort to win popularity at home.

Anti-Russian feeling has charted a course through Turkmenistan's history ever since Tsarist forces slaughtered thousands of Turkmen at the battle of Geok-tepe in 1881. While avoiding extremes, Mr Niyazov has made Turkmen the state language and stifled freedom of expression for his country's 300,000-strong Russian minority.



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Street of shame: The EU is to inject cash into the work of restoring the Gran Vía, Madrid's pulsating, but tarnished artery. Photograph: Colorific

## £24m facelift for grand boulevard that swapped style for sleaze

Elizabeth Nash  
Madrid

The Gran Vía, the pulsating artery of Madrid, a swaggering art deco, jazz age boulevard lined with some of Europe's finest baroque follies, earliest skyscrapers, and gitziest movie palaces, is to be "remodelled" with the help of European Union funds.

Once it was one of the swankiest thoroughfares in Europe. When it was built in 1910, 14 streets were scythed away to permit the passage of the motor car. The Gran Vía blossomed during the First World War, when neutral Madrid was

posited to create a "leisure trail", suggesting the existence of 18 theatres and 19 cinemas with in a few hundred yards of each other is not a powerful enough attraction: their facades are to be touched up, walkways created, special signs erected and street furniture renewed.

This week, Madrid's city fathers described the Gran Vía and 10 adjacent squares as "the most derelict and socially marginal areas in the city". They say prostitutes, drug dealers and "urban tribes" abound. They reckon it will cost £24m to spruce the area up and have asked Brussels to go halves.

It is true that the Gran Vía has seen better days, that on an evening stroll to the austere 1930s cocktail bar Chico, you may glimpse a dazed prostitute peeing in a doorway. As you press in with the crowds to a film at one of the 1920s cinemas, as grand and kitsch as the set of a classic Hollywood musical, you may meet a drugged performance artist with a drugged cat on his shoulder, or an elderly man crouched beneath his blanket across the doorstep that he has appropriated every night for almost 20 years. Many regard the area north of Gran Vía as a no-go area after dark.

Crucial to the "remodelling" is a proposal to widen the pavements by nearly two metres each side, which is fine for crushed pedestrians, but will compound the street's horrendous traffic jams. More worrying is a pro-

posal to create a "leisure trail" suggesting the existence of 18 theatres and 19 cinemas with in a few hundred yards of each other is not a powerful enough attraction: their facades are to be touched up, walkways created, special signs erected and street furniture renewed.

Let's hope they don't tear down the giant handpainted cinema posters. The Gran Vía must be the last outpost of the Western world where this engaging art form survives. Nor should they tinker with the facade of Madrid's finest art deco building, the Capitol, built in 1932, or with Spain's first skyscraper, the Telefónica building, by the metro station. Hailed as a modern triumph when it went up in 1929, this was the place where journalists went to file, and be censored, during the Spanish civil war.

At the far end of the street, Franco's even taller Edificio Espana, built between 1948 and 1953, is unlikely to be affected by the Town Hall's improvement plan. Its curious mock-Habsburg details have been lovingly restored by private developers. Prosperous youngsters are snapping up the smart modernised flats with their breathtaking views to the mountains, or down the main drag of the Gran Vía – to the heart of the capital.

### significant shorts

#### Paris shop blasted by hit-and-run bomber

A parcel bomb exploded in a shop in Paris, slightly injuring one person. A passer-by apparently threw the bomb into the home-decoration shop in the rue Monge, in the Latin Quarter. It bounced down the stairs into the store room in the cellar and exploded. A store employee, alone in the cellar room, was slightly hurt by the blast, which caused minor damage. The suspected bomber escaped.

Reuters - Paris

#### Senators beg to differ

It would be a crime to beg aggressively, to relieve oneself in public and to lie down in doorways or on pavements in commercial districts under a bill passed by the New York state senate. Its sponsor, Guy Velella, a Republican, said the bill was aimed at many New Yorkers' quality-of-life concerns, and was not aimed at poor or homeless minorities.

AP - Albany

#### Planes pound Tamil base

Sri Lankan forces launched air, naval and artillery attacks on a key base of the Tamil Tiger rebels in the jungles of the north-east. Air force pilots have reported direct hits on targets, an official said. Ground troops monitoring rebel radio transmissions say the rebels are asking for reinforcements.

Reuters - Colombo

#### Xinjiang attack reported

A Uighur exile group in Kazakhstan said Uighur separatists in China's turbulent north-west province of Xinjiang had carried out a bomb attack against a Chinese military installation. A spokesman said buildings were damaged but did not know whether there were any casualties. He said his own organisation was not responsible for the attack.

Reuters - Almaty

#### Bride gets short shrift

Security officers barred a bride from wedding at a Zimbabwe civil court, saying her short skirt was not decent enough as required by court rules. The groom was arrested and fined for arguing with policemen and trying to force his way into the building.

Reuters - Harare

#### Flat feeling

Flat-dwellers who flock to Ikea to buy furniture soon may be able to get their apartments there, too. Ikea and the Skanska group have begun a project to build cheap flats, for purchase or rent, at a cost of no more than 3,000 kronor (£240) a month, about 25 per cent lower than the usual cost.

AP - Stockholm

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# Missilegate: Is this conspiracy or hoax?

John Lichfield

Paris

And now, Missilegate. A top-secret, and officially banned, United States navy "chainsaw" missile accidentally destroyed a TWA jumbo jet and 230 people off Long Island last July, a report claimed yesterday.

The US government has covered up its involvement, from a mixture of embarrassment and determination to preserve the secrecy of the weapon, according to Pierre Salinger, journalist, former spokesman for President John F Kennedy and leader of a freelance investigating team.

Mr Salinger told a press conference in Paris yesterday that his group of ten experts, including several government officials, had reached these conclusions on the mysterious fate of flight TWA800 with "very great certainty".

But the FBI, which was given the Salinger report four days ago, dismissed its findings as a "cruel hoax". There was no clear evidence that a missile destroyed the plane, the FBI said, although this remained one of three possibilities. The other two were a terrorist bombing or a mechanical malfunction.

Mr Salinger has been preoccupied by the unexplained destruction of the New York to Paris flight since he saw allegations of an accidental missile strike on the Internet. He called yesterday on the US Defense Secretary, William Cohen, to order an official investigation into the af-



Pierre Salinger with newsmen yesterday (left); and a photo of the alleged missile. Photographs: Reuters/AP

fair, which he dubbed "Missilegate".

The report, co-ordinated by Mr Salinger through the Internet, says TWA800 was "destroyed by accident... by a US navy missile which mistook its target".

This missile – probably a top-secret kinetic-energy or chain-saw missile containing no explosive warhead – was fired either from a submarine or from a missile ship engaged in secret military exercises, the report said.

Mr Salinger produced stills of a video-recording of radar screens taken at JFK Airport that night

which, he claimed, showed a "missile heading towards the TWA plane". The Pentagon insists that no missile has been fired in the area for two years but Mr Salinger said 154 witnesses on Long Island saw "one or two missiles in the air that night". He said he had also been contacted by a man with a son in the US Navy. The man said his son had told him: "Dad, we destroyed the plane."

The video stills of the alleged radar traces of the missile appeared in *Paris-Match* magazine yesterday and Mr Salinger said the proceeds from the publication of

the photograph would go to the families of the TWA800 victims.

Families of French victims of the disaster decided at the weekend to begin a civil action against an unknown culprit in the French courts. This is likely to bring about a judicial investigation.

A chain-saw or kinetic-energy or continuous rod missile is a fearsome weapon, officially banned by international treaty. It contains no warhead as such and, in flight, resembles a huge rod of metal. When it finds its target, it blasts straight through and would tear an aircraft to pieces.



Reading between the lines: A Parisian examining radar screen pictures in *Paris-Match*

Photograph: AP

## Miners' victory parade mocks Kohl's feeble posturing

Irene Karacs

Bonn

Thousands of miners rode into Bonn yesterday for an impromptu victory procession, honking their horns and holding two fingers aloft in salute of the government offices along

the route. Polizisten and onlookers lining the road greeted the bikers with Mexican waves.

After almost a week of protests, Chancellor Helmut Kohl and union leaders reached a compromise yesterday on the future of the coal industry. There will be no mass redundancies, but by 2005 the number of people employed in the pits will be cut by half. Over the next eight years, about 48,000 miners will be made offers they could not possibly refuse, including lavishly-funded early retirement, retraining and unspecified make-work schemes.

To soften the immediate impact of the programme, the government agreed to close only one pit between now and the year 2000, and another three or four by 2005. Currently, there are 18 working collieries in Saarland and the Ruhr. "The fight was worth it," declared

Hans Berger, the leader of the miners' trade union, who had shouted himself hoarse over the last week.

The government also ap-

peared reasonably satisfied with the deal. "We have ensured the survival of the mining industry in a way that is economically acceptable," said Friedrich Bohl, Mr Kohl's right-hand man in the chancellor's office. "We have ensured that changes in the mining industry can be carried out in a way that avoids mass layoffs."

Last year, the government paid DM10bn (£3.7bn) in subsidies to German coal, which

costs two-and-a-half times the world market price. Total coal subsidies, including contributions from the region of North Rhine-Westphalia, will be cut to DM5.5bn over the next eight years.

This figure, however, does not include the sums the government has discovered since thousands of miners pitched up tents in Bonn earlier in the week. Now the state coffers are miraculously flush with money. About DM300 a year extra will pour into the pits to persuade miners that a career change would be in their interest.

As a result, the taxpayers' contribution to coal-mining will actually rise next year.

The agreement was hammered out overnight by union negotiators and chancellery officials, who stayed up till 5am haggling over the details. After Tuesday's debacle, when Mr Kohl cancelled his meeting with the union at short notice, the opposition Social Democrats stepped in to mediate.

The basic compromise – postponing pit closures beyond 2000 – was arrived at during a meeting on Wednesday between the deputy leaders of the two biggest parties: Wolfgang Schäuble of the Christian Democrats and Rudolf Scharping of the SPD.

The SPD's key role in defusing the tension offers an unflattering contrast to Mr Kohl's feeble posturings of the past few days. Once again, the Chancellor has demonstrated he no longer has the authority to govern alone. After yesterday's agreement, the Social Democrats announced they would resume talks with Mr Kohl, ostensibly about tax reforms, but in reality about some form of grand coalition.

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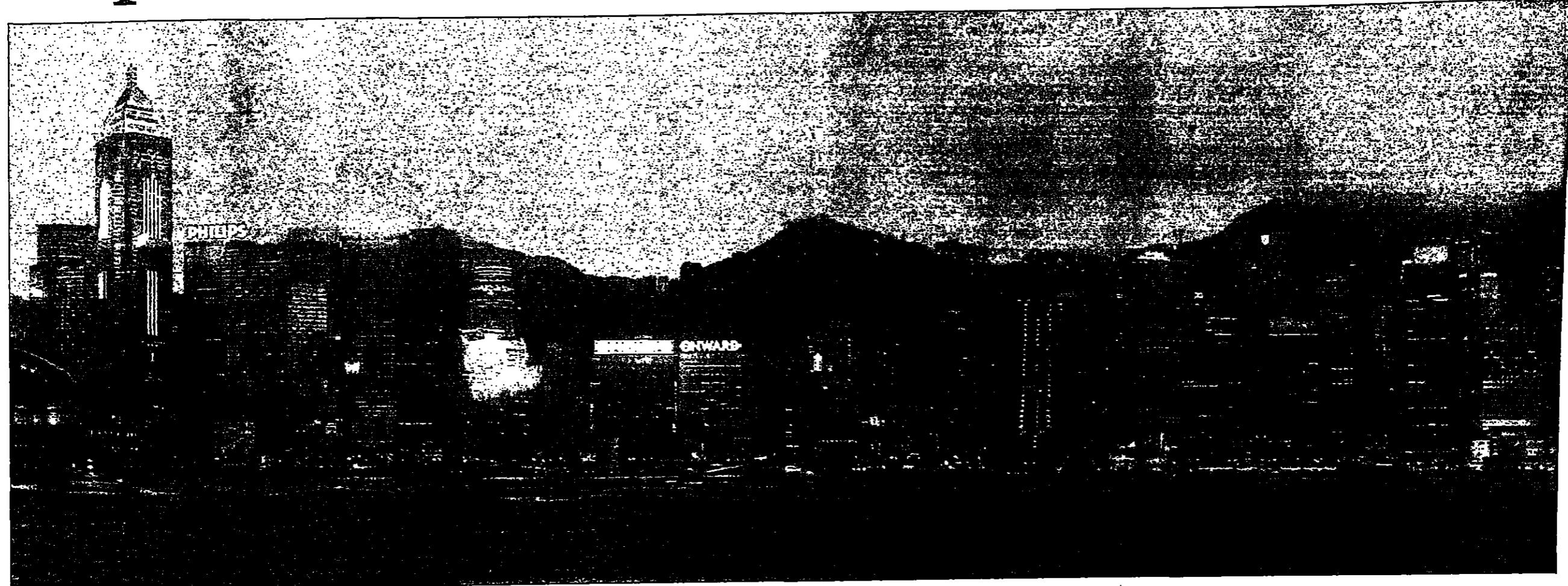
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## international

**The transformation of Hong Kong:** When the photograph on the right was taken in 1912, Chinese were second-class citizens in their own territory. They were not even allowed to live on the desirable Peak. Now the British are almost irrelevant. Paradoxically, the handover to China in three months' time is set to be an occasion for mixed emotions. Hong Kong is flourishing. Its skyline changes constantly, with an energy that seems the essence of the territory itself. This is a city of extraordinary vibrancy, where billions are made and lost. The future under Chinese rule is confused, at best. But Hong Kong seems unlikely to lose the identity that it has forged.



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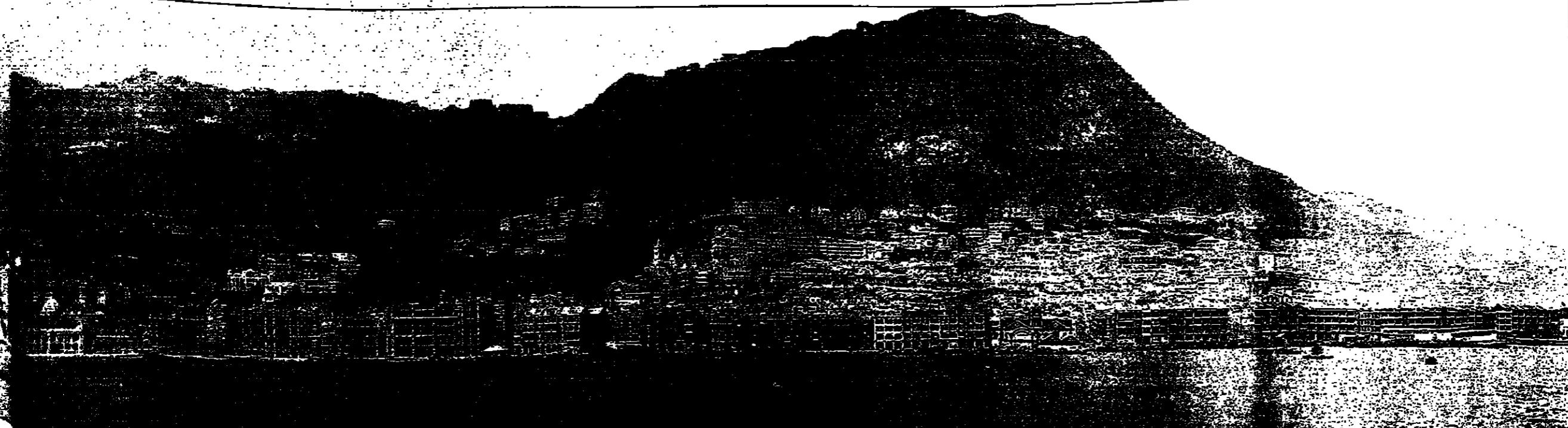
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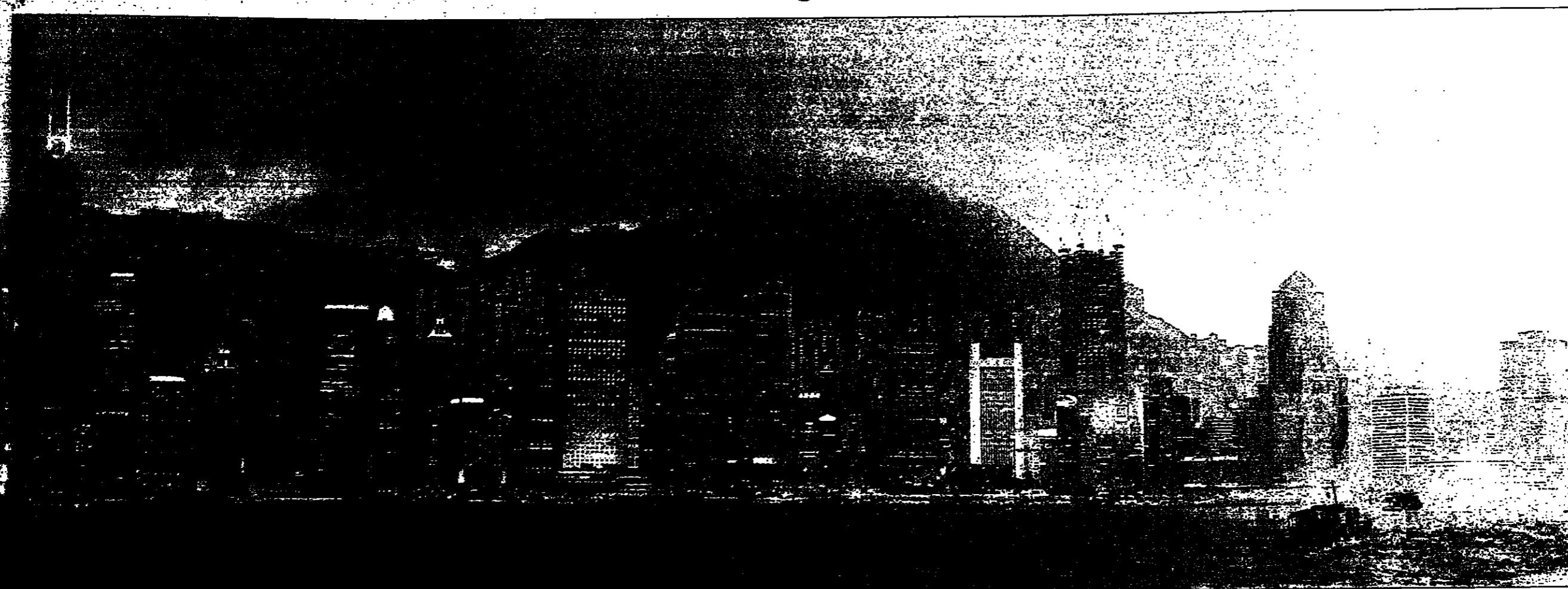
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# ont Asia across a century of colonial history



Jojo Moyes  
Hong Kong

Wherever you are in Hong Kong, at whatever time of the day or night, you are likely to hear one sound: drilling. The city has an estimated 4,000 building projects in progress at any one time, and as the tower blocks nestle ever closer together, its profile is not just changing upwards but outwards.

Hong Kong, with a population of 6.2 million, needs to house nearly two million extra people within the next 15 years. The Government is bracing itself for an extra 55,000 mainland immigrants annually and the 100,000 Chinese who will be eligible to live there following the handover. Many more Hong Kong Chinese are returning, pushing up demand in the private sector, while astronomical property prices have created a waiting list of nearly 150,000 for public housing. In response, the Government plans to build 400,000 flats a year for the next five years, but it needs an estimated 3,000 hectares of land on which to build.

In a territory that is no more than two hours' travelling distance from any two points, and in which most people's windows already look into someone else's windows, something has to give. And that something is the sea. Hong Kong's biggest reclamation project is the new Chek Lap Kok airport, where in an awe-inspiringfeat, a mountainous island was levelled and reshaped into 1,248 hectares of flat land.

But the South China Sea is having to bear a retreat elsewhere – most notably in its famous "fragrant" harbour. On Hong Kong Island, a major reclamation programme began a year ago to create 123 hectares of land

for commercial and infrastructure purposes, which is slowly but inexorably bringing Hong Kong and Kowloon closer together.

This has elicited protest from, among others, one of Hong Kong's few preservation societies – the Society for the Protection Of The Harbour, which says its "unique and irreplaceable public asset" should be preserved. It raised a petition of 148,000 signatures opposing the project, citing concerns about safety if the already crowded waters are narrowed further.

But the most vocal opposition has come from environmental protesters, who say that Hong Kong's development fever is getting out of control, and that the eventual effect on the territory could be catastrophic.

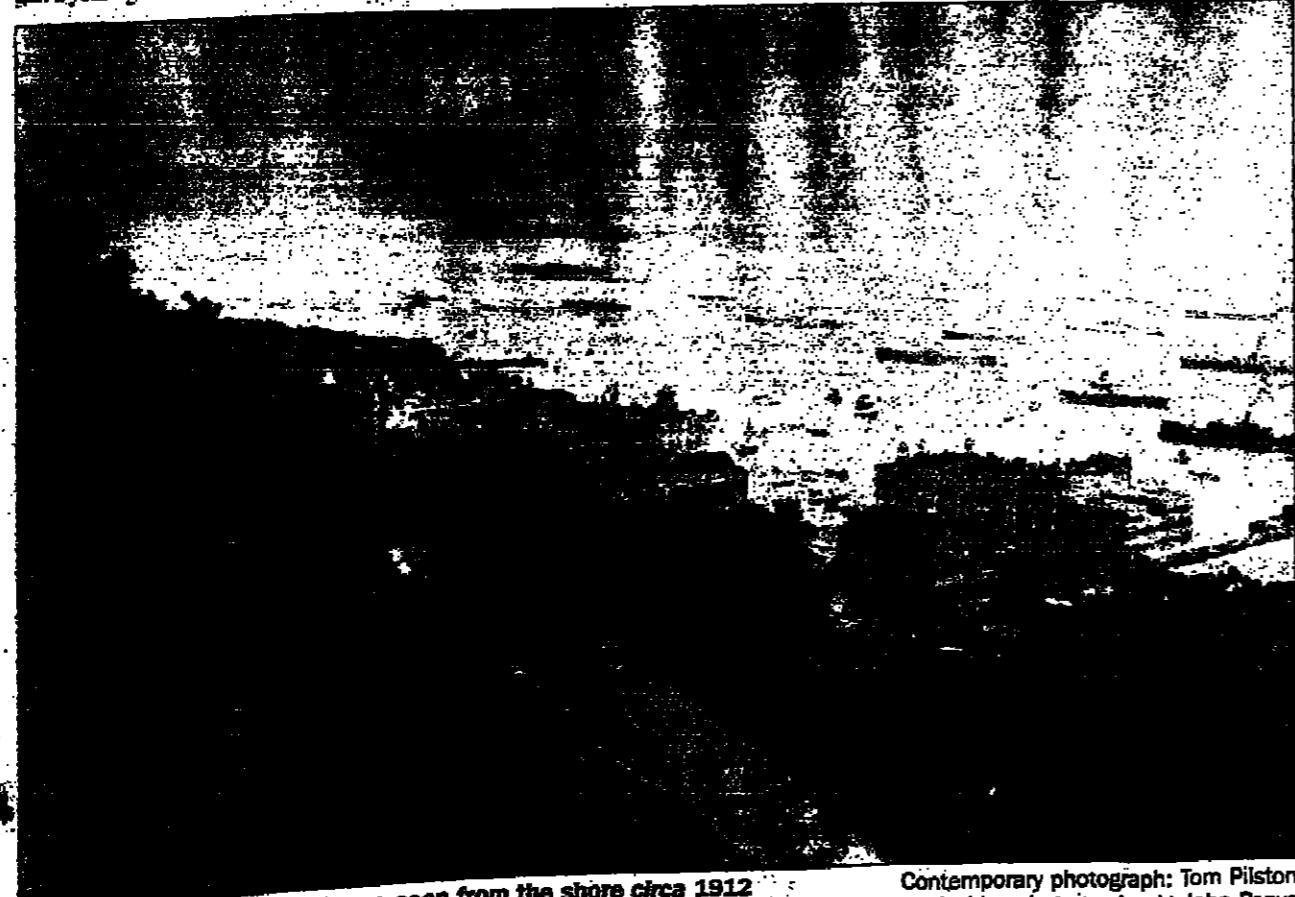
Lisa Hopkinson of Hong Kong's Friends of the Earth says the dredging and dumping involved in reclaiming large areas of land is destroying marine life. "They take up the layer of soft mud which is highly toxic and move it to a site near the new airport which is right next to a marine park," she says.

The marine park was built to protect the Chinese White Dolphin – whose numbers are rapidly depleting because of pollution.

As well as making Hong Kong's already polluted waters even more poisonous (few of the territory's inhabitants would eat seafood they knew to be local) the dredging of sand from the bottom of the sea bed for "fill" is also problematic, she says.

"There's lots of it coming down from China – we don't know whether it's toxic, or where it's coming from." Much of the damage, she says, has already been done, with corals destroyed on the relatively clear eastern waters, and the depletion of fish stocks and nursery grounds and the few remaining areas where sea birds roost and nest.

Meanwhile, it emerged yesterday that the Government is expected to reap windfall land revenues on the back of more than HK\$34 billion (£2.7bn) in premiums paid by developers – thought to be the highest for a single fiscal year. Noise pollution complaints are up 800 per cent since 1991. And across Hong Kong the drills keep drilling.



Sea View: Hong Kong harbour as seen from the shore circa 1912

Contemporary photograph: Tom Pilston  
Archive photographs: Lt John Pepys

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# The armed forces don't need a uniform sexuality

"I am not a homophobe, but I think gays are a freak of nature," says one of the 'Tory-voting' guests in *The Dinner Party*, a television documentary to be screened soon. This is a new variation on the theme of "I am not a racist, but..." and "I am not sexist, but..." Prejudice is still abroad in this country although it is, fortunately, not respectable. Hence the shock value of Channel 4's latest documentary *Foray*. The last bastion of respectable prejudice, however, is the armed forces. A fellow *Dinner Party* diner contributes to the debate: "We don't want effing queers in the Army." This was perhaps rather crudely expressed, but Government ministers still feel able to express the same sentiments in the House of Commons. Nicholas Soames, the Armed Forces Minister, would not publicly urge women to get back to the kitchen or the Prime Minister to play the race card in the coming election. But he will say, as he did yesterday: "The Government supports the armed forces in their wish to maintain a ban on homosexuality in the services. Homosexuality is not compatible with the trust that must exist between comrades in arms."

This is pre-election posturing of the most unsavoury kind. He must know, as we all do, that the European Court of Justice will strike down the ban on gays in the military as contrary to European Union discrimination law. It will also be struck down by the other Euro-court, in

Strasbourg, as contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights, which is separate from the EU. Mr Soames's determination to fight the Perkins case, referred to Luxembourg by the High Court yesterday, is synthetic. "I fear that Labour, if elected, would give up the case," he went on.

Tony Blair, too, has been guilty of unattractive pre-election posturing on this issue. Last May, he, his deputy John Prescott, his moral commissar David Blunkett, and his defence spokesman David Clark, all abstained in a Commons vote to lift the ban on gays in the military. Pretty it was not. Understandable, in the light of Bill Clinton's experience with this issue on coming to office. Understandable, in view of the depths to which Mr Soames showed the Tories were prepared to sink. But not at all appealing.

The question is whether discrimination on grounds of race, sex or sexuality is justified in any of the uniformed services. The answer is no. Twenty years after the Sex Discrimination Act and the European Equal Treatment Directive, this should not be controversial. And yet this Government has shown itself willing to pay out large sums of money on behalf of the armed forces and the police in hopeless defence of their right to discriminate against women and homosexuals. Police forces have recently been found by the courts to have failed to control sexual harassment of women

officers, and the Strasbourg court will rule on Alison Halford's case over discrimination in promotion on Monday.

Why is it that uniformed services think they operate by different laws? All the arguments fall apart under close scrutiny. The distinguishing feature of these services is the requirement for discipline and teamwork in acutely stressful situations. Mr Soames's choice of terms goes to the heart of the discriminators' case: "true" and "comrades in arms". The case is that you cannot have the essential bonding, the camaraderie, that will survive under fire or in a riot, unless you have a homogenous group of



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about it came round to the idea. We suspect that the same would apply to the issue of homosexuals.

Homophobia runs deep in wider society, but there is also a countervailing liberal tendency of which this country should be proud, of tolerating what other people get up to in private. Open discussion would help the second overcome the first. Of course, there have to be rules about what people get up to in private in uniformed services, as there are, in fact, in most organisations, written or unwritten. Sexual conduct does matter, especially when bosses and subordinates have affairs: discipline and team loyalty can be undermined, and sexual tension creates uncertainties that can devastate proper working relationships. But sensible rules about sexual shenanigans apply equally to everyone.

Finally, the nonsense about "effectiveness". It is a code for virility, and, while there is a role for controlled aggression in the police and the armed forces (and almost any other job), there is no reason why women or gay men are not able to show it. True, women are not so interested in zapping aliens in computer games, but many excel at the team skills of running operations centres and making fast decisions which matter as much or more in real war, or running a crime-breaking operation.

For the police, certainly, effectiveness must depend to an extent on the force's connectedness with the society it exists

to serve. How many miscarriages of justice would have been avoided if the social base of police forces had been broader, if the pool of talent on which they could draw had been deeper? That is the principal argument in favour of open recruitment. And it ought to go without saying that it is unhealthy for the armed forces, like the police, to be unrepresentative of the society they exist to defend. In a democracy, socially representative uniformed forces are an important guardian of everyone's security.

## The Lady's right behind you, John

Baroness Thatcher will be working flat out in the election campaign to support the Prime Minister, a spokesman for her office said yesterday. Why Lady Thatcher thought a denial was needed is a mystery. First this week she was accused of backing Michael Portillo in the undeclared Conservative leadership campaign. Then it was alleged that she thought Tony Blair was a decent chap who "won't let Britain down". What preposterous ideas! Mr Portillo is a One Nation Tory who wants to subsidise the royal yacht. And Mr Blair has made his distaste for Lady Thatcher's furtive style of leadership absolutely plain. She should replace her spokesman forthwith.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Care rules for the old favour spendthrifts

Sir: Your leading article of 11 March fails to address a crucial issue – the perverse incentives resulting from the existing arrangements for paying for long-term care of the old.

If I have worked hard and been careful with my money throughout my working life, and if I have saved and invested in my own home, then when I become old and frail or struck down by Alzheimer's, the state will expect me to sell my house to pay for long-term residential care.

But if I have been idle and squandered my money, and if I have not planned for the future but lived for the present, then the state will happily pay in full for my long-term care.

You refer to the estimated £200m a year that the proposed scheme may cost. What you ignore is that a pensioner living in their own home who has paid off their mortgage before retirement will not be a burden on the state beyond their basic pension. But the pensioner still renting their home will need the state to pay housing costs for perhaps 20 or 30 years of their life.

This represents a far higher burden on the taxpayer than that resulting from Stephen Dorrell's proposals.

MARCUS YOUNG

Ely, Cambridgeshire

Sir: Thank you for your leading article. What a relief! My reaction to Mr Dorrell's plans had prompted the terrible thought, "If I am the only one who thinks that, am I already marching towards dementia?"

My house is my insurance against future need. My children have a clear choice. Either they can help to look after me if I become unable to do it for myself and inherit their reward, or I can pay someone else to do it and leave little behind. For a government supposed to believe in family values, encouraging them to opt out of family responsibilities and also to have expectations of something for nothing, seems a bit rich.

BETTY PERRY

Chelmsford, Essex

Sir: No congratulations for your leading article of 11 March. Its comments are directed at a relatively well-off class of homeowners. Many home-owners are relatively poor, having struggled for years not for an investment but to keep a roof over their heads and their children, and to create not a "nest egg" but a beloved nest. The culminating tragedy for them is being forced out of their homes by the absence of adequate, affordable home-care which would allow them to remain in them.

Throughout the piece the word "house" is used almost exclusively in the brutal sense of an asset. A house can indeed be bought and sold, but a home can only be created with love and care, and it is the loss of this which is the real injustice and the cause of so much pain and unhappiness.

Mrs SHEILA MANN

Leeds



### Parties rescued a VAT absurdity

Sir: How exquisitely timed your leading article ("The main parties need a deeper shade of green" is 12 March). On your news pages you report a heavy defeat for a backbench amendment to the Finance Bill, an amendment that would have – in the words of former Chancellor Norman Lamont in his 1993 Budget speech – removed "an anomaly which makes a nonsense of any attempt to use the tax system to assist the environment".

The anomaly in question is the patent absurdity of charging VAT on energy conservation materials at 17.5 per cent whilst levying it at 8 per cent on energy consumption. What is so depressing is that both Conservative and Labour front benches colluded to stop this distortion being rectified.

ANDREW WARREN  
Director, Association for the Conservation of Energy  
London N1

Sir: Your leading article was a welcome challenge to the mainstream grey parties to address the real problems afflicting us today. But what a pity that you continue to propagate the myth that the Green Party is a "single issue" party.

The Greens recognise that a healthy environment, economic and social justice, and a true democracy are interconnected. That is why we advocate a phased restructuring of the taxation system to shift the burden from labour to pollution and resource use; a basic income scheme for all, demolishing the poverty trap; and a

strengthening of democracy and personal freedom through such measures as proportional representation, a Freedom of Information Act and a Bill of Rights. Hardly single issue!

I suggest that it is the grey parties who are "single issue". Their

damaging reliance on "economic growth" as a solution to all ills will inevitably perpetuate a widening gap between rich and poor, greater environmental destruction and ultimately a lower quality of life.

DAVID CROMWELL

Southampton Green Party

Attlee was a

true socialist

Sir: Some facts about the Attlee family show a rather different picture from that given by Kate Watson-Smyth ("Attlee was really a Tory, says his daughter-in-law", 7 March).

Tom was a life-long member of

the Labour Party, his son

Christopher stood as a Labour

candidate in 1951, 1955 and 1959

and his granddaughter Catherine

in 1992. Other members of the

family have been Labour

councillors. Clem was not a lone

socialist in the family. Nor, in view of his government's record or of his support, for instance, of the International Brigades in Spain, could it possibly be argued credibly that he was "secretly a Tory".

PEGGY ATTLEE

London NW3

Murdoch and digital television

Sir: Polly Toynbee's article about digital terrestrial television and the BBC ("A naive fish in very dangerous waters", 10 March) was full of misconceptions. Here are four.

1. To suggest that switching off analogue ten or more years hence is some drastic event is nonsense. This will only happen if by then the vast majority of the public have chosen to buy digital televisions when replacing current televisions.

In the meantime analogue

televisions will continue to receive existing channels for years to come.

2. It is wrong to claim that

everyone will "have to buy into the

digital age with a new black box".

Digital television sets will also be

available. Neither set-top boxes nor

digital televisions will be controlled

by one private company as the

article suggests. Both of them will

be manufactured by many different

companies and both will make the

free digital services available to

viewers as well as subscription

channels. And, in the digital age,

access for subscription services will be rigorously regulated.

3. Her claim that "Murdoch" will

control digital television if British

Digital Broadcasting's application

is successful is mistaken.

"Murdoch" does not own BSkyB.

BSkyB does not control British

Digital Broadcasting. It has one

third of the venture along with

Carlton and Granada.

4. British Digital Broadcasting

does not propose to use

"Murdoch's terrestrial box". We

will support a separate box serving

our own customers with our own

independent subscriber

management service and smart

card. To avoid confusing customers,

this box will also be able to receive

digital satellite as well as digital

terrestrial channels. This is a good

thing.

NIGEL WALMSLEY

Director

British Digital Broadcasting

London SW1

their efforts so as to ensure that no gaps are left through which the least fortunate may fall.

I was in the same psychiatric hospital unit as Martin Mursell, although not at the same time, and upon my release I came to terms with my mental health disability with only the help of loving and supportive friends and the sympathetic reaction of neighbours and employers. These people are representative of the community at large, but the official community services were no help at all, despite the obvious and sincere goodwill of the beleaguered practitioners who struggled to help those in need.

G R TAYLOR PhD MRCPsych  
Leeds

Lunar irony

Sir: At about the time we received pictures of the Moon landings, a story was running about a woman aged over 60 in South Africa who had given birth to a baby.

I was working in a London hospital and on the ward was an older nursing auxiliary, unable to have children, who firmly rejected the *former* story as a scam "all done with mirrors" and ardently believed the *latter*, as it gave her hope. We nurses, who knew better, scoffed.

Ironic, that since then, doubt has been cast on those pictures (letters, 7, 13 March) and a woman in her 60s has had a baby. All these years later, I feel I owe her an apology.

KATE DAVIDSON

Chersey, Surrey

### They deserve Dawkins diatribe

Sir: Some of your correspondents (Letters, 11, 13 March) have clearly been annoyed by Richard Dawkins's intemperate diatribe (8 March) against woolly thinking in the name of religion (or anything else). I could understand their annoyance if Professor Dawkins had expressed himself contemptuous of people merely for possessing religious faith, but I do not think he did.

Actually, are we not entitled to be just a little bit contemptuous of people, however eminent in their own fields, who allow themselves to be inveigled into pontificating in public about something they know very little about? Especially if it involves telling other people, some of whom may have studied and thought quite hard about the issue, how to behave?

Professor T J PEDLEY  
Gonville and Caius College,  
Cambridge

Sir: As a scientific officer working in the public domain I must acknowledge the Rev Ian Kenway's assertion (letter, 11 March) that I bear a responsibility to account for my activities.

I certainly would not wish to pontificate on questions of the philosophy of science or the writings of C P Snow, since I have had formal training in neither. However, subscribing to an ancient, ill-defined and shifting set of metaphysical values (insert the progressive religion of your choice) or a set of ancient immutable dogmatic misconceptions (insert the fundamentalist religion of your choice) does not qualify one for such a task either.

My understanding of Professor Dawkins's argument was that there is a media circus that feels obliged to recruit not one, but several spokesmen for the many cults and religions that clutter our modern culture. The consequence is that the transmission of clear, testable scientific information is obscured by sheer weight of numbers. It seems

## analysis

**I**t may yet go down as one of the shortest-lived governments in history. Yesterday at noon, Bashkim Fino was sworn in as Albania's new prime minister at the head of an emergency all-party administration; but even before his team of ministers had officially taken office, their authority had disintegrated into dust.

Outside in the streets of Tirana, gangs of young men were looting army weapons depots and embarking on a rampage of plunder and terror. Automatic gunfire rang out across the city, bringing the armed rebellion that has swept across the country closer to its inexorable conclusion: the overthrow of all remaining state authority and the ousting of President Sali Berisha.

The mob paid no heed to the new government's call to order, no heed to the Albanian intellectuals begging them to lay down their arms, no heed even to their own provisional commanders, who have tried to impose order in the southern强holds they have seized over the past week. Instead, they pushed Albania further into anarchy. Mr Fino remarked as he took over his meaningless new mantle of power: "God save us, God save Albania."

The events of the past few weeks – from the collapse of Albania's fraudulent "pyramid" investment schemes, to riots, to armed insurrection teetering on the brink of civil war – have come as a shock to an outside world that had given little thought to this most remote and mysterious of European countries. Mostly, Albania had not featured on the radar screens of Western governments: to the extent that it had, it was vaguely assumed to be doing a reasonable job of emerging from 50 years of totalitarian nightmare into the democratic light of day.

A state of political, social and economic collapse is hardly the ideal circumstance for Western policy-makers to play a rapid game of catch-up. Indeed, to match the confusion of the situation in Albania itself, there has been an extraordinary plethora of interpretations in the media, ranging from the cautious to the downright barmy. Perhaps most extraordinary is the highly polarised and personalised ideological battle being waged on the pages of British and American newspapers between rival camps of academic specialists on the Balkans. Reading the competing dispatches in this battle is



Shadowed by anarchy: as authority collapses, shocked Western commentators argue with each other about the causes of the crisis

Photograph: Alex Majoli/Magnum

## 'God save us. God save Albania'

While armed mobs roam the streets of Tirana, uncontrolled even by the insurrection's leaders, confusion and conflict reigns among Western analysts and policy-makers, says Andrew Gumbel

depressing, partly because it reveals the limited vision of many of the players, but mostly because it makes the job of understanding Albania 10 times harder.

Broadly speaking, there are two schools of thought on the origins of the present crisis. The first, mistakenly referred to by its detractors as the "left-wing" view but shared in most particulars by independent analysts, including this newspaper, is that President Berisha hoodwinked the world into believing he was a democrat while evolving into a dangerous despot.

Political repression went hand-in-hand with rampant state corruption and a flourishing of crime rackets that were not only tolerated, but to a large degree also organised by the ruling order. The president tried to buy his people's support with the

pyramid investment schemes, which in turn were propped up by the profits from the illegal arms and drugs traffic. When the schemes collapsed, popular anger at the regime knew no bounds, and in short order, army depots were looted, popular revolutionary councils sprang up and the march on Tirana became unstoppable.

The other view, espoused until recently by Western embassies and still championed by a small group of Thatcherite ideologues and right-wing newspapers, is that Mr Berisha is a much-misunderstood man, a

true democrat struggling to pull Albania away from its heritage of Stalinist isolationism but beset by the powerful forces of the past operating through the mafia and the main opposition party, the Socialists. Reports of electoral fraud were exaggerated by Communist propaganda, as were allegations of government collusion in organised crime. The pyramid schemes were an unfortunate side-effect of free-market capitalism, and their existence a sign of the weakness of the government's hold on Albanian society, not its authoritarian strength.

The armed insurrection has nothing to do with popular anger but was deliberately stirred up and organised by criminals backed by the Socialist party.

Much of the debate surrounding these diametrically opposed positions has been marred by conspiratorial thinking, the more polarised writers on the left tending to credit President Berisha with an evil omnipotence, and the right doing exactly the same thing with the Socialist-led opposition. Worse still, some British writers have taken to accusing each other of fomenting anarchy in Albania. *The Sunday Telegraph* ran a headline this

week that read: "The media back the Communists – as usual". Two of the Albania specialists specifically attacked in the accompanying piece, James Petifer and Miranda Vickers, promptly threw a stink of accusations back at the author, Anthony Daniels, some of which found their way into *The Guardian* on Monday.

Clearly, the debate should be focused on Albania itself, not on the various axes being ground around academic corridors. There was undoubtedly a terrible misreading of Albania by Western governments after the fall of Communism in 1990-91. The World Bank went so far as to characterise Albania as a "small haven of peace and economic growth" – a phrase that must be haunting the authors of the report in which it appeared.

President Berisha and his government were showered with development aid as a reward for maintaining stability in their corner of an otherwise turbulent Balkans. And they were widely praised for liberalising the economy at great speed, opening the country to foreign markets, containing inflation

and stabilising the currency. But while the West felt its own interests were being well looked after, the regime was becoming increasingly autocratic, showing ever scant respect for the institutions of the state, conducting purges of public officials, especially in the judiciary, denying the opposition and the independent press their fundamental rights, as guaranteed under the constitution and alienating many of its supporters, who either switched to the opposition or left the country.

Economically, all was not well either. It is true that the country recovered rapidly from the post-Communist collapse of 1991-92, eradicating chronic food shortages with help from the Italian army and opening the Albanian market to a wider of Western consumer goods.

It is also true that, with the help of the IMF and other organisations, the lek was stabilised and inflation brought under control.

But the nature of Albania's economic growth was suspect from a very early stage. The bulk of its legitimate income derived not from production, but from remittances sent home by Albanians working

abroad (estimated at up to \$500m a year) and foreign aid. Serious foreign investment failed to get off the ground because of the clientelist nature of the government, which appeared reluctant to relinquish control over any area of economic life.

A far greater revenue source, meanwhile, was the black economy, and especially organised crime. Albania is a major conduit for the smuggling of arms and drugs, and during the war in Bosnia it was used for the transit of petrol to Serbia and Montenegro, in contravention of UN sanctions.

The port of Vlora has lived handsomely for the past two years on the transport of illegal immigrants from the Balkans and Asia across the Adriatic to Italy. Western intelligence officials believe that this criminal revenue is at the origin of the pyramid investment schemes and helped to keep them going for longer than mathematical logic would dictate.

Foreign governments began to express concern about these issues only in the wake of the May 1996 elections, which were boycotted in midstream by the opposition and denounced as invalid by the Organisation for Co-operation and Security in Europe and others because of widespread vote-rigging and intimidation. Two days after the first round of voting, the diplomatic community and the world's media had ringside seats

on the balcony of the Tirana International hotel as police brutally broke up an opposition demonstration just outside in Skanderbeg Square, beating a number of prominent opposition leaders and hauling them off into custody for several hours.

The reaction to such blatantly undemocratic behaviour was hardly instantaneous. Indeed, European countries went ahead and recognised the new parliament, arguing that it was better to exert gentle pressure on Mr Berisha than risk alienating him through noisy protest. As a result, the ruling Democratic Party reckoned it had got away scot-free and felt bold enough to cock a snook at both the US, which called for the elections to be held again, and the IMF, which suspended its credit programme because of the government's refusal to close down the pyramid schemes.

The tragedy that has unfolded since the collapse of the schemes has shown up not only the strength of popular feeling against the government, but also the inability of anybody to control the forces that have been unleashed by the uprising. Anyone who has been to the chaotic south of Albania, where the revolt has been in full swing for more than a week, knows that accusations of Communist-inspired plots to overthrow the state are preposterous just as anyone currently in Tirana would laugh at the notion that Mr Berisha is some kind of all-powerful evil genius manipulating the whole thing for his own purposes.

And yet these are the sorts of analyses finding their way into serious newspapers. On Tuesday, *The Wall Street Journal* published a leading article breathtaking for its sheer ignorance and ideological invective. It asserted that there were "no credible claims of ballot-box stuffing" at last May's elections, even though the OSCE report referred to them clearly. And it described Mr Berisha as a medical man, "not a Communist apparatchik", even though he was a secretary of the old Party of Labour for more than 20 years and served as a cardiologist in Enver Hoxha's jealously guarded inner circle.

Admittedly, the Oxford group of Thatcherite academics is rather more intelligent in its analyses. Mark Almond, a lecturer in Balkan history, is not doubt right to argue that the Albanian government has become weaker than the mafias operating in the country, and right to warn of the dangers of a Socialist party takeover without democratic guarantees.

But the ability of Mr Berisha's Western admirers to absolve their hero of all blame for the Albanian disaster is uncanny. Mr Berisha has been described as "the last Thatcherite" – adored for ideological reasons by a clutch of right-wing thinkers. Unfortunately, much of the adulation heaped upon him has been offered unthinkingly and irresponsibly. It is time for the apologists to swallow their pride and admit they were wrong, for the sake of a clear-eyed understanding of what can be done to help Albania.

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## Mr Howard and the incredible prison hulk

**A**s Mr Michael Howard continues in his bid to put all potential voters behind bars before the election, it turns out that he already occupied all available space on land. So Mr Howard has imported a floating prison from America to be moored off Portsmouth and help to absorb our surplus prison population.

It seems likely that this will involve Mr Michael Howard in further legal problems, and further clashes with the judiciary, so to explain all the legal niceties of this new move by Mr Michael Howard, I have secured the services of Julius Martello QC, an expert both on marine law and megalomania, to answer some of your questions on this exciting new development in Britain's naval heritage.

*It seems to me that Mr Howard is just taking us back to the grim Victorian days of the floating hulks, and I wonder if it is in Mr Howard's mind to go even further back and start sending other prisoners overseas to serve their sentences in Australia!*

*Does this mean that, for instance, the governor of the*

Very funny, I am sure, but let us be serious for a little while. A moment's thought will show you that even Mr Michael Howard would not send prisoners to Australia to carry out their sentences.

This is because Australia is now a sovereign power and would not accept them. My understanding is that Mr Michael Howard is seriously considering sending our prisoners overseas to somewhere like the Falklands, or Gibraltar or ... no, that's it. To the Falklands or Gibraltar. Or maybe St Helena. There's a precedent, after all.

It seems likely that this will involve Mr Michael Howard in further legal problems, and further clashes with the judiciary, so to explain all the legal

niceties of this new move by Mr Michael Howard, I have secured the services of Julius Martello QC, an expert both on marine law and megalomania, to answer some of your questions on this exciting new development in Britain's naval heritage.

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*Does this mean that, for instance, the governor of the*



Miles Kington

prison will be the equivalent of a ship's captain and will be empowered to marry prisoners?

Julius Martello QC writes: I think it would be very unwise for a prison governor to marry a prisoner. Especially if he were married already.

*No, what I meant was – oh never mind. But one thing that springs to mind is that all sea-going vessels must have adequate emergency routines and regular life-boat drill. On the other hand, prisoners are usually left locked up in their cells for most of the day. How can these two be reconciled?*

Julius Martello QC writes: Undoubtedly. It will become the first prison in Britain which will be, from a legal point of view, part of our merchant navy.

*Would it not be illegal under maritime law to confine passengers to their quarters, for fear of their drowning in an emergency?*

Julius Martello QC writes:

Normally speaking, yes. But I gather Mr Michael Howard is of the opinion that a drowned prisoner is a prisoner who will not offend. There is also a plan to have the prison ship surrounded by armed guards in rowing boats to prevent escape.

*And to shoot anyone who does?*

Julius Martello QC writes: Well, I am not sure of that. But very possibly Mr Michael Howard may be of the opinion that a shot, drowned prisoner is even less likely to offend.

*It has been forecast on all sides that the more prisoners Mr Michael Howard tries to cram into jail, the more likely there is to be some sort of explosion of anger. Now, the usual result of a prison revolt is a roof-top demonstration, but in the case of HMS Hulk, it is quite likely that the lads will take over the prison ship AND TAKE IT OUT TO SEA! Now, once they have gone past the three-mile limit,*

*could they not re-register the boat as an independent state and apply for membership of the United Nations?*

Julius Martello QC writes: I suppose theoretically it is possible ... although it might be construed also as piracy.

*Say, for instance, that Mr Michael Howard himself decided to visit the floating prison. Sounds unlikely that he would visit a prison, but let's say so. Let's say that while he is on board the floating prison there is a takeover by the prisoners and the ship is taken out to sea. Let's say that the new crew of the HMS Hulk decide to have a democratic trial of Mr Michael Howard and after a fair hearing – there will, after all, be a few*

*solicitors and barristers among the prisoners – he is condemned to walk the plank.*

*Let's say that as Mr Michael Howard is dragged to the plank weeping and screaming and begging for the mercy he never showed anyone else ...*

*Sadly, that is all we have time for. But rest assured that Julius Martello QC will be back soon to answer more of your sea-faring legal questions.*

# Consumers are fed up with being fed Whitehall rubbish



**Donald Macintyre**

**A revolution is taking place that will end for ever the food producers' stranglehold on the Ministry of Agriculture**

Forget about the party politics for a moment. Douglas Hogg's weekly torment at the dispatch box, the relentless revelations of the secretiveness and incompetence at the Ministry of Agriculture, the nightmarish television images of excrement-encrusted cows, reflect something much bigger: an irreversible change in culture. The discovery of Bill Swann's report on the filthy condition of the country's abattoirs was something much more important than an embarrassment for a moribund Government. It may not be too millennial to say we are now seeing, in at least one segment of national life, the beginning of a transition from an age of producerism to an age of consumerism.

It is apt to say that Swann's report was discovered over the dead body of the Ministry of Agriculture. It's all over for Maff, at least in its present form. It is pointless to rant on about the culture inbred in the only department to sponsor a single industry, or network of industries. In which civil servants and veterinary scientists pass as a matter of course to and from jobs in the department and the companies they regulate. In which a minister can say, without irony, as Lord Lucas, agriculture spokesman in the Lords did on Wednesday, that on food safety it proceeds on the basis of co-operation with the industry. It did not, he added, "take a big stick to it and close down everything that was unsatisfactory. Had we done so we would have closed down two thirds of the industry on day one." There is yet to be a single prosecution for hygiene breaches of the kind so brutally exposed by the Swann report. And, as Sheila McKechnie, director of the Consumers' Association, said: "This is carnage and crime in your hamberger we're talking about." Nor is this the lament of a New Age foodie: remember, 20 people have died of *E. coli* in Lancashire.

The Meat Hygiene Service, the agency which is at the heart of Hogg's travails, has had a short and unhappy history. The Commons Standing Committee records of the debate when it was set up in April 1995 already read like something from a bygone age. The decision to remove the job of abattoir regulation from local authorities and hand it to a nationwide agency was opposed by Labour. But this was mainly over the one issue which dominated the proceedings of the committee: the costs to industry that would accrue from the new service. To his credit, Labour's Eddie O'Hara warned prophetically of the danger under the new system of "cross-contamination and consequent food poisoning". He pointed out that it had been the local authorities who had been most concerned about the possible - but the time officially dismissed - risks of BSE. But even his speech was largely taken up with the anger of meat wholesalers who feared being driven out of business by the excessive costs they would have to pay to be inspected. That couldn't happen now.

What's more, the service had a rather unpromising start. Even most of the experts have forgotten that its first head of operations, Philip Corrigan, a vet with an international academic reputation, was found to have left his native Australia under a bit of a cloud - namely six disciplinary charges under the Australian Public Services Act, including a complaint alleging that he had solicited a grant from the Australian Cold Storage Association to finance a trip to an international conference in Berlin. He left, but only after his troubles in Australia

*operation* it has received from the chief executive and all MHS staff.

What would reinforce any dwindling reputation the MHS still has, of course, would be if the quote had said: "The MHS and its chief executive have been an utter pain in the neck, snipping at everything we do, enforcing all sorts of footling restrictions and being paranoid about the odd cow with diarrhoea."

It's a safeish bet that this will be the last report of its kind from the MHS. It may be that Maff will limp on, as Labour currently intends, with another agency, whether answerable to the Department of Health or not, taking care of food safety. There is no reason why Maff's green functions should not be hived off to Environment, and its European subsidy negotiations to the DTI (a department crowded with ministers too little to do). Some food standards campaigners believe it should be reformed wholesale rather than dismembered. But others, including Sheila McKechnie, believe it should be abolished if only to eliminate the corrosive culture of a department which saw its role as protecting not just farmers but meat wholesalers, renderers, abattoir operators and the whole panoply of industries now caught in the headlights.

This change will be painfully slow. There may be more revelations to come. The intimidation of meat inspectors at abattoirs won't stop overnight. The problems of the poultry industry have so far escaped attention. But something has snapped. It no longer seems possible that Edwin Currie could face the lynch mob which ended her ministerial career over salmonella. It no longer seems possible that Mrs Thatcher could say, as she once did when asked whether Maff had outlived its usefulness: "You don't see: farmers are consumers too." The stranglehold the big producers have had over those who buy and sell their food is loosening daily. And it won't be coming back.

**Peregrine**

**Worsthorne**

**in his**

**Spectator**

**column,**

**reprinted here,**

**warns of the**

**consequences**

**of a Cold War**

**with Europe**

required to mobilise the British people behind a long Cold War struggle against Europe. Conceivably, Rupert Murdoch willing, this necessary degree of nationalistic fervour could be sustained at the grass-roots, but certainly not among the educated cosmopolitan élites, great swathes of whom - judging by their present attitudes - would be supporting the federalist enemy.

How much tolerance would a Europhobic government - for that is what, as the struggle proceeded, it would be likely to become - show to them? During the Napoleonic wars "Napoleonicists" like the Whig leader Charles James Fox - the 18th century's equivalent of Roy Jenkins - did get away with virtual treason, as many Jacobites privately drinking to the King over the water, had before them. But 20th-century nationalism is made of sterner, more thuggish stuff and it is difficult to imagine potential fifth columnists like Lord Jenkins and, even more so, Sir Edward Heath, receiving the same kid-glove and gentlemanly treatment - not at any rate if that splendid bruiser Norman Tebbit had anything to do with it.

The climate would, I fear, soon have far too much for comfort in common with *fin de siècle* France, where right-wing intellectual firebrands like Charles Maurras, founder in 1899 of *Action Française*, accused any Frenchman of treason whose ideas of *La Patrie* differed from his

own. Already comparably dogmatic definitions of what it requires to be fully English - as against British - are beginning to take hold here. No journal as rabidly nationalistic as *Action Française* has yet hit the streets, but when it does I can think of several right-wing intellectuals among my friends who would be only too happy to contribute.

Nor would this increasingly nationalistic climate be dissipated once Britain had taken the plunge and decided to withdraw, for short of deporting Euro-enthusiasts and purging them wholesale from the public service - where their influence is very great - they would still be here, "the enemy in our midst", handy to take the blame once the pains of independence began to bite. In *fin de siècle* 19th-century France cosmopolitan Jews were the scapegoats. In *fin de siècle* 20th-century England it would be cosmopolitan Euro-enthusiasts.

That would not be the worst of it. For the radical right would not be the only lot of ruthless ruffians eager to climb aboard the patriotic bandwagon in the hope of steering it in their direction. Equally eager would be the radical left, as they were during the Second World War. Then the "Guilty Men", excoriated by Michael Foot in his famous Gollancz special of that name, were the establishment appliers of Berlin; this time, some contemporary Michael Foot, Paul perhaps, would put the boot into the

Establishment appliers of Brussels. Then it was only the radical left which used patriotism as a cover under which to prosecute the class war. Now that play would be used by both the radical right and the radical left. Not only would the *Daily Mirror* have plenty of opportunity to peddle its kind of anti-establishment poison but so, needless to say, would *The Sun*. Between them everything which makes Old Britain agreeable and civilised - monarchy, Church, social hierarchy, high culture - would be ground into the dust and everything that makes New Britain odious - Union Jack-waving football fans, the tabloid press, philistine populism - greatly strengthened.

There is always a high price to pay for mobilising the masses, as the Tories discovered after both great wars, none more so than Winston Churchill, whose humiliating dismissal in 1945 was very much part of that price. Having patriotically done their best for the country, the people understandably expect their country in return to do its best for them. So it would be even if Britain came out on top in the struggle with the European Union. She would emerge from it with her governing institutions - the very things which the Tory party came into existence to protect - discredited and the masses triumphant and vengeful. To beat Hitler, that was a price just about worth paying, but not surely to beat M. Santer or even Chancellor Kohl.

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# Racist table talk of Middle England

by Suzanne Moore



**White people should stop feigning horror when the 'secret racism' of so-called polite society is exposed**



population. The white community has expressed its view through the ballot box.

One doesn't have to be a fly-livered liberal to find the subtext to all this guff, and it is as undeniably racist as witterings of a few drunken half-wits over dinner. The difference is that all public speech now has to start with a declaration of anti-racism before it goes on to parade in the crassest way possible a series of stereotypes based on ignorance and fear.

Of course as Linda Bellos

pointed out in these pages

last week, things are improving and there are a few signs that the "politics of race" are being discussed in more intelligent ways.

Professor Patricia Williams

delivered of her

Reith Lectures, despite her

demonisation as a PC zealot,

turns out to have some inter-

esting things to say about

"colour-blindness". Bellos also mentioned the handling of the discovery of the *HMS London*, which contained the remains of manacled slaves. She praised the lack of denial of the facts about the slave trade.

We could also talk of the

sensitive handling of issues of

race in much of the Comic

Relief coverage or the atti-

tudes expressed in opinion

polls by young people that con-

tinute to highlight racism as a seri-

ous ill. Bellos's point,

though, was clear - that

progress can only be made

when black people them-

selves speak out and are listened to.

Yet the ways in which race is

spoken about are so round-

about that we are shocked when

faced with overt racism. All the

poring over league tables, the

scurrying between one school

and another, has a lot to do with

race, but try getting your aver-

age middle-class "anti-racist"

to talk about it. The absence of black faces in public life is often put down to something called "institutional racism" which means that individuals are let off the hook, yet how does institu-

tional racism come about

except by discrimination that is

practised at times by individu-

als? The Society of Black

Lawyers has complained this

week about "an appalling level

of unequal treatment" which

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# business & city

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## NatWest counts the cost of £90m hole

### Four suspended, £8m bonus cut as inquiry deepens

Michael Harrison

The mis-pricing in NatWest's interest rate options division is a "significant setback" for the bank and is likely to take several months to unravel fully, its chief executive Derek Wanless admitted yesterday.

The episode also evokes uncomfortable memories of the Blue Arrow affair, which led to the demise of County NatWest, the bank's previous attempt to become a serious player in international capital markets.

But Martin Owen, chief executive of NatWest Markets, said it would not blow it off course in its determination to become a global investment bank.

Investigators from lawyers Linklaters and Paines and accountants Coopers & Lybrand are confident that the problems are restricted to the London arm of NatWest Markets' interest rate options business.

But they and senior NatWest executives are perplexed that the mis-pricing could have remained undetected for so long and by the precise motivation that lay behind the deception.

"There is no evidence of personal gain having been made except in so far as people wanted to keep their jobs by disguising one's source."

Mr Wanless said it was "extremely regrettable" that the losses should have gone undetected for so long and he concluded that the affair was a "significant setback" to the bank's attempts to build its reputation in the international capital markets business.

But he said he was satisfied that the mis-pricing was not evidence of a wider systemic problem throughout NatWest markets. However, he said that there were urgent lessons to learn from the episode, which has resulted in the suspension of five senior employees and the docking of £8m in bonuses from a handful of employees in the bank's global debt derivatives division.

The losses only came to light last month and were initially expected to cost NatWest £50m. It now appears that the size of the hole is £90m although £13m of this is covered by an existing provision and the withholding of the bonus payments.

Kyriacos Papouli, the options trader at the centre of the

affair, left the bank last year and has since lost his job at the US bank Bear Sterns. NatWest is attempting to interview him as part of the investigation and has made several approaches through his lawyers, Kingsley Napier.

His immediate boss, Neil Dodgson was already on suspension, pending the outcome of the internal inquiry. Yesterday a further four senior staff were also suspended.

They are Mr Dodgson's superior, head of swaps options trading Ian Gaskell, a graduate trainee who joined the bank in 1983 and progressed to its swaps department in 1991.

Mr Gaskell in return reports to Jean Francois Nguyen, managing director of debt derivatives, who is also suspended. Mr Nguyen was brought in from Credit Suisse in 1991.

Christophe Lanson, who also came from Credit Suisse and is global head of rate risk management - and as such the man responsible for the financial engineering of the options deal in by the team of traders - has also been suspended.

The fifth staff member to be suspended is Phil Wise, now NatWest Markets' chief administrative officer but senior managing director of the capital markets division for most of the time that the mis-pricing was going on.

NatWest executives stressed yesterday that the suspensions should not be taken to indicate guilt or responsibility but were designed to allow the individuals to co-operate fully with the continuing inquiry.

As well as establishing that the mis-pricing was not part of wider failures of control within the bank, no flaws had been identified in the models used by NatWest to price the options in which it trades.

NatWest said that the second stage of its review would concentrate on the management issues associated with its failure to detect the losses and the mis-pricing earlier.

An "act of leadership" Mr Owen has volunteered to forgo £200,000 of his £500,000 bonus for last year.

However, the financial impact is much bigger for other employees with the number of staff thought to be affected by the £8m bonus cut numbering fewer than 10.

Martin Owen, chief executive of

the options division, at the centre of the



Weighing up the options: Derek Wanless (left) and Martin Owen, chief executive of NatWest Markets, who has decided to forgo £200,000 of his performance-related bonus

### Trader's losses grew undetected for two years

To senior NatWest executives, the most alarming feature of the £90m hole that has appeared in its interest rate options business is the fact that it remained undetected for more than two years.

It now emerges that losses had been building up in the book run by the young options trader Kyriacos Papouli since late 1994 and yet they were only uncovered in February this year, three days after the parent bank had announced profits of more than £1bn.

In part that is due to the highly complex and esoteric nature of some of the financial instruments used in debt derivatives trading.

In part it is due to the failure of management systems to identify that something was going wrong and tackle the source of the problem.

In part it was due, it now appears, to conscious efforts to obscure the losses through the mis-pricing of options and the transfer of value between trading books, which made it more difficult to detect the mis-pricing.

The mis-pricing came to light after back-office staff at NatWest Markets - those responsible for reconciling trades on a daily, weekly and monthly basis - began to question the values attached to certain options and the way those prices had been fixed.

As an "act of leadership" Mr Owen has volunteered to forgo £200,000 of his £500,000 bonus for last year.

However, the financial impact is much bigger for other employees with the number of staff thought to be affected by the £8m bonus cut numbering fewer than 10.

Martin Owen, chief executive of

NatWest Markets, says: "The losses came to light through the book revealations and testing of methodologies that are carried out on a regular basis as we tightened up our processes we began to discover more."

He does not believe there is evidence of any personal gain being made on the part of anyone. "Our continuing investigation will, however, want to look now at the motivation behind these trades," he said.

**The mis-pricing only came to light after back-office staff began to question the values of options**

For motivation, the bank might take a look at the remuneration which its traders can take home and the pressure under which they work. The £8m docked yesterday from the bonus payments of a handful of high-fliers in NatWest's global debt derivatives busi-

ness shows the scale of the rewards on offer.

Traders regularly start work at seven in the morning, not finishing before six in the evening and sometimes much later if the trades they are executing involve Far East or US markets.

NatWest Markets' interest rate options division occupies only a small part of the investment bank's headquarters in London's Bishopsgate home to one of the biggest trading floors in Europe. The division employs about 70 people in London and a further 80 overseas. And yet it is a key part of the bank's overall derivatives business, holding some very large positions out of the notional £260bn on options held in NatWest's books.

In essence an option is the right to buy or sell a property at a pre-determined price in the future. The buyer pays a premium for that right. In the case of interest rates it enables the buyer to fix or hedge their debt exposure on given currencies over given time periods. At its simplest it is like switching to a fixed-rate mortgage.

However, clients of NatWest Markets would be more likely to buy the options to trade their liabilities by, for instance, swapping their exposure to dollar interest rates in five years' time for deutschmark interest rates in three years' time.

Some of the options dealt in by Mr Papouli and the small team of options traders he worked with will have been regular mis-pricing to obscure losses in certain option books. To make these losses more difficult to detect, the value of options was transferred between books.

In no cases will customers of NatWest have suffered losses by buying the options since the mis-pricing relates to the value that was attached to them in the bank's own books.

The five employees so far suspended by NatWest Markets form a chain of command and supervision within its interest rate options area starting with Mr Papouli.

Martin Owen, chief executive of NatWest Markets, stressed yesterday that the suspensions were not intended to imply guilt or wrongdoing on the part of anyone but were designed to enable the individuals to co-operate fully with the ongoing investigation.

But senior NatWest sources doubt that Mr Papouli could have mis-priced the options he was trading in so systematically over such a long period on his own.

Investigators also believe that the transfer of value between books points to a deliberate attempt to avoid detection as the net closed in.

Michael Harrison

### Fall in inflation puts Spain in place for rate cut and EMU

Yvette Cooper

The Bank of Spain is expected to cut interest rates by a quarter of a percentage point today after figures yesterday showed a sharp drop in inflation. The inflation figures raise the chances of Spain meeting the Maastricht criteria and joining EMU while leaving Italy on the sidelines.

The Spanish consumer price index fell by 0.1 per cent during February, bringing the annual rate of inflation down to 2.5 per cent, compared to 2.9 per cent in the year to January.

Julian Jessop of Nikko Europe said: "The markets were excited by the inflation figures. We expect the Bank of Spain to cut rates as soon as possible."

Spain failed to meet the Maastricht inflation criterion in January on the basis of the EU harmonised inflation measure, the HICP, which put Spanish inflation at 2.8 per cent, 0.1 of a percentage point lower than the national measure. The Maastricht Treaty says that inflation must not be more than 1.5 percentage points above that of the three best-performing countries, creating a ceiling in January of 2.7 per cent.

But the inflation drop in February greatly increases Spain's chances of passing the inflation test in 1997. David Walton of Goldman Sachs said that if the ceiling remained roughly unchanged, and if the EU harmonised measure followed the national CPI, then the

probability of Spain meeting the inflation criterion had risen from 73 to 96 per cent.

Falling inflation means that Spain has a better chance of meeting the other Maastricht criteria too, because it gives the Bank of Spain more leeway to cut interest rates. Julian Jessop of Nikko Europe said: "I don't think interest rates are being set to control inflation. Spain is much more concerned about growth. Meeting the deficit and debt criteria are the problem."

Spain has lower borrowing, lower debt and higher growth than Italy, giving it a much better chance of meeting the Maastricht criteria this year. Goldman Sachs forecasts that Spain's deficit will be 3.4 per cent in 1997, compared with the

Maastricht 3 per cent limit. Mr Jessop said: "The Germans are less worried about Spain than Italy. Spain is a smaller economy, and would bring a much lower debt into EMU."

The prospect of Spain leapfrogging into EMU while EC founder member Italy is left behind could cause diplomatic problems. However, Philip Chui of ABN Amro maintains that the most likely scenario remains that both Italy and Spain are excluded in the first wave. "The Maastricht Treaty talks about sustainable low inflation. It is not clear to me that either country has yet achieved this."

Average earnings in Spain were rising 5 per cent a year and there were serious inflationary pressures in Spain and Italy.

### Special dividend splits Salvesen shareholders

Magnus Grimond

A split between private and institutional investors in Christian Salvesen opened yesterday after the board pushed through a controversial £100m special dividend at a hostile shareholders' meeting at a hostile shareholders' meeting in Edinburgh.

The board, led by Sir Alastair Rankin, chairman, was forced to put the proposed payment to a poll after around two-thirds of the 400 people attending the gathering, mainly individual investors, voted against on a show of hands. The final tally showed 69 per cent of the votes cast backing the management, with over three-quarters of the share capital thought to have been voted.

Sir Gerald Elliot, who has led a £300,000 campaign against the

dividend and related proposal to demerger the Aggreko generator hire business, said he thought the private shareholders were largely behind him. He expressed regret that institutional investors, led by Morgan Stanley and PDM, had decided to support the company.

"I would like to see boards being more sensitive to the long-term interests of companies and less to the short-term concerns of institutions," he said. "What [the campaign] did bring out was the widespread concern about the way the company has been run."

But he said he would not continue his crusade, which means the management would be able to push through the demerger unopposed at a second extraordinary meeting later this year.

### Granada backs away from bid for Yorkshire

Tom Stevenson  
City Editor

Granada threw its "phoney bid" for control of ITV neighbour Yorkshire Tyne Tees into confusion yesterday after it apparently ruled itself out of launching a takeover offer for at least three months. Yorkshire's shares tumbled 117.5p to £11.62p, having dipped as low as £11.05p at one stage, as the long expected bid, an open secret in television circles, seemed to have been at least put on hold.

The timing of an unexpected statement from Granada only 24 hours before today's announcement of full-year figures from United News & Media, another potential bidder for Yorkshire, added a further twist to what one analyst described as "an elaborate poker game".

Granada denied it was talking to Yorkshire's price lower to secure a cheaper takeover price.

Its statement followed hot on the heels of remarks earlier this week from Yorkshire chairman Ward Thomas, that any bid for the company would have to be pitched at £17 a share or more to succeed. Granada has expressed privately that paying more than £13.20 a share would result in dilution of its own earnings.

Although the statement was worded in a way that the Takeover Panel might normally insist precluded it bid for at least three months, it included caveats which analysts said yesterday might leave the door open for an offer.

The statement went on to say: "The current Yorkshire share price already reflects not only a significant bid premium caused by continuing speculation, but also expectations of a substantial reduction in Yorkshire's annual licence bid payable, reversion of which is far from certain."

Source: FT Information

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The prospect of Spain leapfrogging into EMU while EC founder member Italy is left behind could cause diplomatic problems. However, Philip Chui of ABN Amro maintains that the most likely scenario remains that both Italy and Spain are excluded in the first wave. "The Maastricht Treaty talks about sustainable low inflation. It is not clear to me that either country has yet achieved this."

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## What will the branch manager say about this?



### COMMENT

'How is he going to explain bonuses of more than £1m earned on the back of bogus profits? How is he going to explain to his staff that a high street bank, a clearing bank for heaven's sake, could ever have contemplated these lottery-type payments?'

This is a bad, bad day for National Westminster Bank - worse, in some respects than the time when Department of Trade and Industry inspectors were sent into NatWest to investigate the Blue Arrow affair. That management controls at any City bank could be so loose as to expose it to catastrophic loss on this scale is bad enough; that it should happen to a high street bank with a jealously guarded reputation for prudence and probity makes it seem doubly worse.

When rogue trading incidents of this type are confined to foreign or family-controlled specialist City banks, it certainly makes a good story but its wider impact is generally limited. Indeed the suspicion is that much of the time these episodes go entirely unreported; when the bank is a partnership and the losses not life threatening, it is not hard to hide the incident in the general mélange of complex derivative trading. The capable traders are disciplined and fired (though not publicly), controls are tightened, and the ship sails on as before with few people outside the bank any the wiser. It could well be that these things are more common than generally thought.

But for it to happen to a retail bank is something else. What is the small town branch manager going to say after this when confronted with the customer with an unauthorised overdraft? Sorry mate, our City people may be able to get away with

£90m of deceit, but down here we operate to different laws. How is he going to explain bonuses of more than £1m in some cases, earned entirely on the back of bogus profits? How is he going to explain to his staff that a high street bank, a clearing bank for heaven's sake, could ever have contemplated these lottery-type payments in the first place. And how is he going to explain that the "mis-pricing" went on for more than two and a half years without anyone noticing it?

Sir Brian Pitman, chairman of Lloyds- STB, always had a very obvious answer to the sort of position NatWest now finds itself in. In the culture and underlying business of retail banking and investment banking are so different that they can never be made to mix, he insists, and any attempt to bind them together under one roof is ultimately doomed to failure. As a consequence, Lloyds has steered clear of investment banking, concentrating instead on building itself into one of the country's leading retail financial services groups.

NatWest has swung the other way, choosing to reinvest the money it realised by selling Bancorp in the US and Banco NatWest Espana, on bolt-on acquisitions for its investment banking offshoot, NatWest Markets. A key element of group strategy is to build NatWest Markets into a world class player in international capital markets and securities. Today that strategy looks

badly dented, if not quite ripped apart, and Sir Brian's view seems to have been entirely vindicated.

Does a clearing bank really have the management nous needed to control and run an investment bank? The skills disciplines and systems are very different ones, as different, Sir Brian would say, as chalk and cheese. It would be an exaggeration to say that NatWest had it coming, that it is an innocent dabbling in a business where it was always likely to lose its shirt, but there may be an element of that here.

Furthermore, the whole sorry episode highlights in quite spectacular fashion what so many both inside and outside the City have been banging on about for so long now - the dangers in financial markets of very high levels of bonus-driven pay. The £8m of bonuses that NatWest will not now be paying appear to have been promised to fewer than 10 people in the interest rate options trading activity where the mischief took place. If these bonuses were profit and success-related, as they almost certainly were, then there was clearly a very powerful incentive both to inflate profits artificially by mis-pricing the options and to construct an elaborate cover-up of what was going on.

NatWest claims not yet to know what the motivation was, if indeed there was any at all. That must ultimately await the judgement of regulators. But it's not hard to figure it out. What happened here plainly

went beyond simple negligence and incompetence, as NatWest itself half admits in its statement.

The losses, it says, were obscured by mis-selling, and the transfer of value between books also made the losses and mis-pricing more difficult to detect. This is code for saying there was a deliberate deception. The fact that the Serious Fraud Office has been briefed adds to the suspicion that these were deliberate acts.

Can any organisation ever hope to stop the determined rotten apple? Well perhaps not in the early stages, but what makes this particular case so hard to understand is that it went unchecked for so long.

There are two possible explanations of why. First, interest rate options are quite complex derivative instruments, though not nearly as complex as some, and their pricing requires highly technical modelling. Few non-specialists understand it fully. The second is that these instruments are traded over the counter, so there are none of the usual safeguards and alarm systems that operate in transparent, regulated markets.

Options are customised products and their pricing is to some extent subjective. In this case the mis-pricing was achieved by feeding absurd interest rate volatility assumptions into the model. Whether you are inside or outside, it is hard to tell that this is happening. Since options

are essentially private transactions, there's nobody to blow the whistle and point to the absurdity of the pricing as there generally is in more traditional financial markets. If steps are then taken further to obfuscate the position by transferring values between different books, it becomes even more difficult to see what's happening.

None of this should excuse NatWest's failure. Derivatives are sold on the basis that they allow organisations to reduce risk and hedge their exposure to particular market positions and securities. Investment banks make an awful lot of money designing and selling these instruments. But if they cannot control their own risk, who's going to believe that these products actually limit anybody else's.

The great fear is that the explosive growth of these instruments poses a special kind of threat to the financial system. It is not difficult to construct a doomsday scenario in which the world's financial system is brought to a grinding halt by a chain reaction of linked defaults. Fortunately the great interest rate options scandal has proved to be a quite confined episode. This was not the great derivative-triggered collapse that some alarmists think will one day rock financial markets. But that's fat comfort to Derek Wanless and his board at NatWest. They are now going to have to live with the embarrassment of being the first British clearer to fall victim to a derivatives scam.

## GEC and Fiat to unite in bid for £600m train order

Kim Sengupta

Fiat of Italy and GEC are to announce the formation of a consortium today to bid for the £600m contract to build a new generation of tilting trains for the InterCity West Coast line.

The huge contract from Richard Branson's Virgin Rail is expected to create 5,000 new jobs in the UK, and the new consortium believes will lead to lucrative export orders from abroad in the future.

Virgin Rail has drawn up a shortlist for the contract for the high-speed trains, which it hopes will revitalise the ailing West Coast line, and reduce the London-Scotland journey times by 90 minutes to four hours.

Mr Branson had let it be known that he would favour the contract going to a company that could guarantee creation of jobs in this country. The main rival to the Fiat/GEC alliance is thought to be Swedish company AD Tranz, which took over the British Rail engineering works in Derby.

Fiat has already produced tilting trains for Italy, Switzerland and Finland. It has also

received orders for them from France and Spain. ADT has manufactured the high-speed trains for networks in Sweden and Germany.

Virgin will receive a first-year subsidy of £76.8m to run InterCity West Coast but by the end of its 15-year franchise it will be paying the Government £220m a year.

Mr Branson believes the high-speed trains will lure passengers back from air travel. He

has already introduced fare reductions of almost 50 per cent for off-peak passengers.

The Fiat/GEC consortium is believed to be ready to offer rail passengers airline-style travel with carriages equipped with facilities such as seat-back video screens.

An industry insider said: "This is a pretty dramatic step by Fiat and GEC, and it shows both the companies believe there is a bright future for the railways in Britain. It is also felt that Britain can actually become a viable manufacturing base to supply tilting trains abroad."

Richard Branson has been keen to ensure the company which gets the contract would

create jobs in this country. If Fiat did not enter into this alliance its chances of getting the order would have been slim."

Fiat's and GEC's desire to bid for the contract has been boosted by the recent decision by Railtrack to plough £16bn into Britain's train network. It claims the "Lottery size" investment will give the country a "railway that is second to none".

Separately, Sir George Young, the Transport Secretary, yesterday gave the go-ahead for the sale of British Rail's Channel Tunnel freight business, Railfreight Distribution, to English, Welsh and Scottish Railway.

The sale completes the privatisation of BR's former train-operating firms. Railfreight joins 25 passenger businesses and five of BR's six freight companies already in the private sector.

Railfreight has 1,200 employees and in conjunction with the French railway, SNCF runs 150 trains every week between Britain and Europe through the Channel Tunnel.

Rail operators' hazardous

journey, page 24

Comfort class: Chief executive Bob Seelert yesterday after announcing the Delta account. Photograph: Emma Boam

## Cordiant returns to profit

Patrick Tooher

Cordiant, the marketing services group rocked by the defection of the founding Saatchi brothers in 1995, yesterday underlined a remarkable financial recovery by paying its first dividend payment to shareholders in seven years and reporting a return to the black.

Shares in Cordiant rose 9.5p to 113.5p, helped by news that Delta, the US airline, had hired Saatchi & Saatchi for its \$100m (£63m) account world-wide. "It's our most exciting account win in recent history," said Bob Seelert, Cordiant's chief executive.

The Delta contract is the first big airline account Cordiant has landed since British Airways' advertising business followed the Saatchi brothers out the door during a haemorrhage of clients two years ago.

Pre-tax profits at Cordiant, which still includes advertising agencies Saatchi & Saatchi and Bates Worldwide, hit £41.8m in 1996 after a loss of £22.6m the year before. The US made a trading profit of £17m after a £16.5m loss the year before, but Europe was hit by the loss of several large clients, including Reckitt & Colman and the Fuji film account, which had to be resigned after Cordiant's US operation won the rival Kodak contract world-wide.

Investment column, page 22

## Mirror Group profits reach all-time high

Patrick Tooher

Mirror Group, the newspaper publisher, yesterday all but ruled out a takeover of Scottish Television, in which it has a 20 per cent stake, even if media ownership rules are relaxed under a new Labour administration.

"It would be difficult to acquire STV because we would then have an interest in all the number one media brands in Scotland," said David Montgomery, the Mirror's chief executive. "Clearly questions would be raised about a monopoly situation."

Mirror Group owns the *Daily Record*, the best-selling tabloid in Scotland, while STV's £120m purchase of Caledonian Publishing included the *Herald*, Scotland's leading broadsheet title. Under the Broadcasting Act newspaper publishers such as Mirror Group and Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, which have more than 20 per cent of national circulation, cannot increase their interest in ITV companies.

"The 20 per cent will change, but it won't affect our strategy," Mr Montgomery said.

He was speaking after Mirror Group reported a 6.6 per cent rise in pre-tax profits before one-off items to a record £82.2m on sales 7.3 per cent higher at £537.7m. Earnings per share before exceptional items rose 6.7 per cent to 14.3p while the dividend was increased by 12.5 per cent to 4.5p.

"Mirror Group profits have achieved an all-time high, despite predatory price competition."

## N Brown in talks for Freemans

Nigel Cope  
City Correspondent

Shares in N Brown, the mail order group, were suspended yesterday after the company confirmed it was in discussions to buy the Freemans home shopping business from Sears.

The announcement follows last week's decision by Littlewoods to pull out of the Freemans deal when it was told Sears was in discussions with other parties. N Brown is in exclusive talks with Sears and the price is expected to be similar to Littlewoods' £395m offer. Littlewoods said it would still be

interested in Freemans if the N Brown deal collapses.

N Brown would need a sizeable rights issue to fund the deal as it already has gearing of 23 per cent. The company is likely to fund it with a mixture of debt and equity. A rights issue would involve the dilution of the 55 per cent stake in N Brown controlled by the chairman, Sir David Alliance, and his family.

The shares were suspended at 377.5p, down 4p.

City analysts said that though the Freemans deal may be lucrative, N Brown's good track record should ensure shareholder support. "It is a highly

rated stock and the market is likely to be sanguine. Both sets of shareholders would probably be supportive," said Sean Eddie of NatWest Securities.

N Brown said the acquisitions of Freemans would provide it with the opportunity to use its direct marketing skills to increase the combined group's sales. Some job cuts are likely.

N Brown's customers are largely over 50 while those of Freemans are typically in their mid-30s. N Brown's direct-selling approach to mail order could also be applied to the agency business of Freemans.

N Brown controls 4 per cent

of the UK mail order market compared to Freemans' 9 per cent. The deal would catapult N Brown to third place in the mail order market behind Great Universal Stores and Littlewoods.

Sears is under pressure to secure a quick sale as the chief executive, Liam Strong, has promised to return £410m to shareholders. With profits at Freemans falling and morale low, Mr Strong would like to close the deal before Sears' annual results on 24 April.

N Brown made profits of £31m last year on sales of £230m. Freemans made £38m on sales of £531m.

## Wall St unsettled as retail figures soar

Diane Coyle  
Economics Editor

American shoppers set a cracking pace for retail sales in the first two months of 1997.

Stronger-than-expected figures yesterday sent shares on Wall Street and treasury bonds lower because of fears that US interest rates will rise this month.

The Dow Jones index fell below the 7,000 barrier by mid-morning, with shares down more than 61 points at 6,978.18.

Retail sales rose by 0.8 per cent last month, while January's increase was revised to 1.5 per cent, more than twice the first estimate.

"If we continue like this from February, we will see the best sustained retail spending in about 10 years," said Jonathan Basile, an analyst at HSBC Markets in New York.

Separate figures showed a decline in new unemployment claims last week, with a drop of

5,000 taking the average for the past four weeks to its lowest since 1989.

As always, analysts hold mixed views about whether or not the Federal Reserve will raise interest rates at the next meeting of its Open Markets Committee on 25 March. But the balance of evidence has tipped towards expecting a quarter-point increase.

Yesterday's retail sales figures followed further evidence last week that the American economy is creating jobs at an extraordinary pace. The non-farm payroll total jumped by 339,000 in February.

The Federal Reserve's "Beige Book", the regional survey of the economy which provides the basis for Fed interest rate decisions, contained evidence on Wednesday of future inflation pressures. Most regions reported that businesses found it difficult to recruit new staff.

There has been persistent speculation that Burger King would be sold but GrandMet said yesterday that the shuffle reflected the "increas-

ing importance" of the fast food chain to the group strategy.

As Bob Lowe was not on the board his remuneration was not disclosed. However, his compensation for loss of office is likely to be several hundred thousand pounds.

Also departing is GrandMet's group strategy development director, Peter Crawford. He received total pay of £435,000 last year including bonuses.

He was on a two-year contract and his pay-off is the subject of negotiation.

GrandMet said that it no longer required a group strategy development director as the company had completed its major acquisition and disposal programme.

However, it yesterday named Jim Glover as group strategy director, though this is not a main board post.

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## business

# Enterprise Oil rules out large acquisition

Michael Harrison

Enterprise Oil yesterday scuttled speculation that it is about to embark on a big acquisition as it reported a 40 per cent jump in post-tax profits for last year and an increased dividend.

Investors were relieved that the exploration group ruled out an imminent strike and marked the shares up 18.5p to 652p. Weekend press reports had suggested Enterprise was eyeing up a bid for Monument Oil and Gas, armed with a £1bn war chest. British Borneo was also mentioned as a possible takeover target.

But Pierre Jungels, who took over as chief executive at the start of the year, quashed the reports, saying: "We are looking forward to strong internal growth with the asset base and the people we have. We are under no pressure to do anything and we have nothing specific in mind."

To underline the point, he said that Enterprise expected to increase production to 320,000 barrels a day in 1999 compared with total group production last year of just under 243,000 barrels a day.

Enterprise launched an unsuccessful £1.6bn bid for fellow exploration group Lasmco three years ago and since then it has concentrated on building up its own exploration base. This year it expects to invest a further £500m in appraisal drilling and oilfield development which is more than the group's expected cash flow based on an oil price of £12 a barrel.

In particular, Enterprise has high hopes for developments in Norway and Italy, where it has several fields under appraisal in the Southern Apennine region.

The advance in after-tax profits was driven on by a continu-

ing reduction in operating costs and a strengthening in oil prices to £13.17 a barrel compared with £10.72 in 1995. The dividend increase to 17p for the year, up by 1p, helped lift the shares even though the post-tax figure was towards the bottom end of forecasts.

Few analysts expect to make any radical move on profits forecasts on the back of the 1996 results, although news of a reserve replacement ratio of 193 per cent and the production targets provided a fillip to sentiment. "There is no doubt Enterprise is on a roll, with a good record of exploration and drilling success and a very positive news flow over the past year," one analyst said.

Another said he would raise his net asset valuation for Enterprise Oil from 549p to around 555p, largely on the back of the company's reduced net debt position. Further upgrades to this figure may be possible on the back of positive news on the Clair field, which BP highlighted yesterday, and its Norwegian interests.

On a more cautious note, Jon Wright, oil analyst at Merrill Lynch, said that while he was impressed by Enterprise's reserve replacement figures in 1996, he felt too much reliance was being placed on its Italian reserves. "About half of the increase in reserves in 1996 [of around 160 million barrels] was due to Italy," he said.

He also expressed concern about Enterprise's rising tax charge – which climbed from 299.6m to £212.9m largely due to the high levels of Norwegian tax – and the difficulties it may face in a low-price oil environment.

"We are still cautious on the outlook for Enterprise and will probably maintain our reduce stance on the stock," he said.

The profit jump in 1996 was achieved

Christies International, the auctioneer and art specialist, expects to start selling several big single-owner collections after a lean year for large sales in 1996. Lord Hindlip, the company's chairman, who yesterday announced a 57 per cent surge to £33.9m in taxable profits and a 70 per cent boost to 4.75p in the dividend payout for last year, said the outlook for first-half sales was encouraging.

"Several collections have already been consigned for sale, including a collection of Impressionist pictures from the John Langlois Loeb and Frances Langlois Loeb collection [including Paul Cézanne's 'Madame Cézanne au Fauteuil Jaune', above], and Old Master, 19th century and Modern works from the collection of the late Lore and Rudolf Heimann."

The profit jump in 1996 was achieved

despite auction sales growth of only 9 per cent to £1.016bn.

Lord Hindlip, commenting on the 1996 figures, said: "The final result is especially pleasing because there were fewer single-owner collections available for sale in comparison with previous years."

Within the sales rise was a 31 per cent increase from Asia-Pacific to a record \$100m (£63m). Auction revenues grew faster than sales, up by 12.5 per cent, helped by a new commission structure introduced in late 1995.

Auction costs rose by 6.4 per cent, and the company said this should be kept in check by more efficient catalogue production processes. The company said it was pressing on with plans to start up as one of the first foreign-owned auction houses in France once new legislation and regulations had been completed.

## Reckitt dampens bid speculation

Tom Stevenson  
City Editor

Reckitt & Colman poured cold water on recent speculation that the household products group might be the subject of a bid from Unilever and warned that the strength of sterling might hit 1997 profits to the tune of £20m. The two comments were enough to knock 2p off the share price to 797p despite an 11 per cent rise in underlying pre-tax profits in the year to January.

Vernon Sankey, chief executive, cheered shareholders, however, with a £55m annual saving from the integration of recent US purchase L&F, compared with initial hopes for £40m of cost cuts. The 1994 deal brought Reckitt one of America's leading household products portfolios including the Lysol disinfectant brand. Since the acquisition five of 12 factories have been closed.

"I think the thing that would make us sell, post-election, is the potential for interest rate rises, whoever wins the election. The economy is growing at quite a fast rate at this stage of the cycle," he said. "He would expect any new government to attempt to slow economic growth by raising the cost of money."

That could hit L&F's successful index-tracking fund operation. The group revealed yesterday that it nearly doubled the amount of new UK funds under management to £4.25bn last year, helping raise worldwide assets by a fifth to £48.1bn by the end of 1996. Mr Prosser attributed the growth to the success of the group's "safe and cost-effective" indexed fund, which he claimed was now the largest such pooled vehicle on the market.

He was speaking as the group announced a 15 per cent rise in operating profits to £291m. The dividend rises 14 per cent to 11.13p, after a final of 7.63p. The main life and pensions business saw premium income soar 54 per cent to £301m, including a quadrupling of new single-premium pensions business, leaving profits 14 per cent ahead at £21.7m. Mr Prosser ruled out acquisitions to grow the business, but welcomed the initiative by Peter Lilley, the Social Services Secretary, in effect to privatise state pension provision.

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## market report / shares

## Data Bank

FTSE 100	4307.7
FTSE 250	4720.2
FTSE 250	2175.2
SEAC VOLUME	563,400 shares
55,017 dealings	55,017 dealings
GDAX Index	95.20
Share spotlight	10.30

## Ladbroke tipped to try its luck with Capital Corp

Although the Gold Cup was undoubtedly the main event for many in the stock market there is a suspicion one of the major Cheltenham players is about to place a big bet on the spin of London's roulette wheels.

Ladbroke, the betting and hotel group, edged ahead 4p to 242.5p in busy trading as the market strengthened it was taken to intervene before Capital Corporation, the Crook's casino business.

The bookies have admitted they are keeping an eye on Capital since London Clubs International barged in with its hostile bid.

The casino tussle has occurred as Ladbroke is pulling in the cash from winding down its property division and is in a comfortable position to mount a counter-strike.

It already owns four London casinos and has made no secret

it hopes to expand its gaming presence in London. Capital shares rose 1p to 205.5p and LCI put on 1.5p to 402.5p.

The rest of the market had a lacklustre session weighed down by New York which in turn was fretting about the possibility of higher US interest rates being announced next week. There was also just a hint that the market is starting to worry about the looming election which it has, surprisingly, so far treated with blissful indifference.

Yorkshire Tyne Tees Television was the day's major casualty following Granada's statement it had no current plans to bid. The shares crashed 117.5p to 1,162.5p with the warrants off 122.5p at 957.5p. Granada fell 17p to 956.5p.

The Granada comments came ahead of today's yearly results from United News & Media which has a significant

Yorkshire stake and is the biggest holder of the warrants with 34.3 per cent. The warrants, with a 200p exercise price, are running out of time and if United switched it would lift its stake to around 18 per cent.

There is talk United, off 3.5p at 740.5p, intends to accompany today's figures - around £280m is expected - with a strike at Yorkshire and HTV where it has 29.9 per cent.

Enterprise Oil was the best-performing blue chip, up 18.5p to 652.5p, following results; Lasmo was also caught in the action, gaining 4.5p to 241p.

The failure of any Enterprise bid to appear took the shine off

## MARKET REPORT

## DEREK PAIN

stock market reporter of the year



above their 12-month low, as a buy.

The securities house, however, put a sell sign over Iceland, the frozen food retailer which is indulging in a share buy-back. The shares melted 4.5p to 95p.

Be In Rue, the security printer, fell 24p to 592.5p as stockbroker Cazenovia was said to have made cautious noises.

Centrica, the gas supply half of the old British Gas, was the day's most busily traded share with the price shading 1.5p to 61p.

A cautious trading statement from Mofins, the tobacco machinery group, lowered the shares 70p to 830p and Rentokil Initial continued to suffer from disappointment in its results, falling a further 12.5p to 403p.

Arjo Wiggins Appleton edged ahead 1.5p to 195.5p. BZW thinks the depressed paper sector is due for an up-

lift and has launched basket warrants on the paper players.

But Shield Diagnostic, the healthcare group, continued to march ahead in front of an investment presentation: the shares surged 87.5p to 805p. They were 150p last month.

Dana Petroleum, forging further links in the former Soviet Union, added 2p to 23.5p and financial services group DBS Management improved 6.5p to 802.5p, anticipating a move from AIM to full listing.

Frost, the garage group which has been squeezed unmercifully in the petrol price war, is due to produce figures next week. Around £135m is expected; the shares rose 8p to 126.5p. Micro Focus, the computer group, improved 40p to 1,202.5p. After the market closed it was announced that the former chairman, Brian Reynolds, had sold 275,000 shares and was left with 3.3 per cent.

## Taking Stock

Shares of Motion Media, developing a video-telephone system, were suspended on the fringe Ofex market as £450,000 was raised through a placing at 105p. Frozen at 190p, the shares have hit 310p on talk of deals with BT and Continental groups. The company says it is talking with "a number of prospective major customers" and its video-phone is being exhibited at a German electronics show. MM arrived last year at 67.5p. Dealings are expected to resume today.

Stordata Solutions, which has had a dismal time, held at 12.75p. The car security and computer systems company produced disappointing profits of £1.5m last year but market hopes are high it is set for more than £2.2m which puts the shares on a prospective rating of only 10.2.

## Share Price Data

Prices are in sterling except where stated. The yield is last year's dividend, grossed up by 20 per cent, as a percentage of the share price. The price/earnings (P/E) ratio is the share price per share of last year's earnings per share, excluding exceptional items. Other details: Ex rights: E=ex dividend; S=stock split; P=party paid; N=Nil Paid Shares; 3=AIM Stock

Source: FT Information

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## Market leaders: Top 20 volumes

Stock	Vol 1000	Stock	Vol 1000	Stock	Vol 1000	
Centra	5940000	Alpha Fitter	520000	Costa Vela	50000	
Harland & Wolff	2800000	Lloyd's	1500000	Car Group	500000	
2000000	BT	1200000	ASDA Group	220000	BP	600000
2000000	Unilever	1200000	Williams Hide	500000	Locality	500000
5400000	Ladbroke	6500000	BAT Inds	800000	United Biscuits	500000

## FTSE 100 Index hour by hour

Open 44084 down 131 11.00 44097 down 128 14.00 43984 down 241

08.00 44015 down 210 12.00 44117 down 103 15.00 43948 down 277

10.00 44039 down 185 13.00 44112 down 113 16.00 43974 down 251

Close 43977 down 243

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Stock	Vol 1000	Stock	Vol 1000	Stock	Vol 1000	
Centra	5940000	Alpha Fitter	520000	Costa Vela	50000	
Harland & Wolff	2800000	Lloyd's	1500000	Car Group	500000	
2000000	BT	1200000	ASDA Group	220000	BP	600000
2000000	Unilever	1200000	Williams Hide	500000	Locality	500000
5400000	Ladbroke	6500000	BAT Inds	800000	United Biscuits	500000

## FTSE 100 Index hour by hour

Open 44084 down 131 11.00 44097 down 128 14.00 43984 down 241

08.00 44015 down 210 12.00 44117 down 103 15.00 43948 down 277

10.00 44039 down 185 13.00 44112 down 113 16.00 43974 down 251

Close 43977 down 243





## sport

**FIVE NATIONS' CHAMPIONSHIP:** England and Scotland powerhouses can impress Lions selectors

# Sleightholme's outside chance

**J**on Sleightholme is very much looking forward to his early summer sojourn in Argentina, where the prospect of two more international caps and a night or three on the Buenos Aires tiles with his Bath club-mates, Federico Mendez and German Llanas, are among the obvious highlights of the trip. What is not so obvious is why England's right wing is, as things stand, likely to board a mid-May plane to South America rather than one to South Africa.

When Fran Cotton and his comrades on the Lions selection panel named their now infamous 62-man preliminary party last month, they chose to disregard England's three-quarter line in its entirety. The inevitable slanging match centred on whether or not Will Carling had demanded the captaincy in return for his availability and to what extent Phil de Glanville, the national captain, was omitted because of incompatible personalities rather than indifferent performance levels.

Barely a word was heard on the subject of Sleightholme and his partner on the left wing, Tony Underwood, even though they had just given the Irish back division a fearful seeing-to in Dublin to the tune of two tries apiece. Underwood always looked vulnerable in the light of Cotton's professed partiality towards power freaks rather than out-and-out speed freaks. But Sleightholme? Fourteen and a half stones of get up and go would surely be priceless on the killing fields of Ellis Park and Loftus Versfeld, so why should the Lions go for a walking bicep like John Bentley, just back from rugby league and only a handful of games into his reincarnation as a union man at Newcastle, rather than Jack Rowell's favourite wide man?

**Wainwright's high hopes for Scotland**

**R**ob Wainwright, Scotland's captain, believes his side can repeat their victory of two years ago against France at Parc des Princes in their final match of this season's Five Nations' Championship tomorrow.

"There is the same sort of feeling in the squad that we had two years ago. We're going out there to do a job we're capable of doing," he said before boarding the team's flight to Paris.

"There will be a lot of public expectation hanging over the French. But we believe we can win this game and we're going to put pressure on ourselves to achieve this goal."

This will be Wainwright's second successive game back in his preferred position at blind-side flanker. "I'm enjoying being back in my old berth and what is more, Peter Walton is playing well at No 8. Against Ireland the whole balance of the team seemed right."

"I'm looking forward to another game with the same formation and the only other time I played at the Parc was two years ago and we got a good result."

**Chris Hewett talks to the wing with a mission against Wales tomorrow**

"We're not picking on size," Cotton insists. "Pace and power are two very important qualities but size is not an issue at all. People probably got that from the Bentley-Sleightholme business. Sleights is a strong sort but Bentley happens to be that little bit bigger. That's not the reasoning behind our current thinking, though; there are other differences we consider to be important."

Now what might they be? True, Sleightholme is not the world's finest at defending against a cultured outside-half's rolling diagonal kicks and he has been known to succumb to the odd rush of blood in dodgy loose-ball situations. But in virtually every other area of his game, whether it's chasing high bombs like a pointer on heat, manufacturing a narrow-channel kick to turn an opponent, tackling some monstrous Lomu-esque apparition to a standstill or finishing a half-chance at the corner in true Rory Underwood fashion, he is right up there with the best of British.

Tomorrow, the 24-year-old from way up there on the North York Moors has one last opportunity to book himself for trial by Springbok rather than Puma. He wins his 10th cap against the Welsh in Cardiff - "No, I've never played at the National Stadium but I've heard plenty about it" - and any adhesion to his quartet of international tries will be precious grist to the mill, particularly as he will be squaring up to an early Lions contender in Bridgend's Gareth Thomas.

"It's all I can do, isn't it? Play well. Ask questions of the opposition, threaten them when I have the chance and keep it tight and tidy at the back. If it works, if my performance says to the Lions panel, 'Hey, we can't leave this bloke out', then fine. But in the end, it's all a matter of someone else's opinion, so I'm not letting it prey on my mind."

"If I don't make it to South Africa, then I'll take every ounce of experience and enjoyment I can from Argentina with the remains of the England side. That will be a tough tour in itself and 'Fred' Mendez has promised to look after me and show me the sights, which makes it even tougher. Although I'll chalk up two complete Five Nations' Championships against Wales, I'm still relatively new to this level of rugby and while I'd love to face the Boks, I'm young enough to think about the next tour in three or four years' time."

Such equanimity is a mark of Sleightholme's enviable well-balanced attitude to the slings and arrows of a fickle sport. The merest glimpse of him hollering out the national anthem on big match day, right hand squeezing the fibres from the red rose sewn on the left breast of his precious England shirt, suggests more than a degree of rampant fanaticism. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"I think I'm lucky in so far as I can cope with the nerves pretty well and focus totally on the job in hand. I get nervous, of course - very much so in the minutes leading up to a game - but there is no element of apprehension in that, so the feeling is entirely positive. Certainly, the thought of playing at the Arms Park on such an occasion can only be inspirational."

The last time he went anywhere near tomorrow's venue, the rumour mill was humming to suggestions that Bath were

about to lose their most effective try-prowler to Cardiff.

The English champions' insistence on playing Jason Robinson, a

rugby league recruit, to the

right wing added fuel to the

flames and when Sleightholme

withdrew at the last minute

from the Heineken Cup quarter-final between the two clubs, the story seemed on the verge of confirmation.

"That's what I mean by staying focused," he says. "You have to rise above all that. I don't know where the rumours

came from but I couldn't help but be aware of them, they were so rife. I've had my ups and downs this season, what with selection at Bath and the Lions issue, but the only thing that really matters right now is Wales and how to beat them."

**Photograph: Empics**

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# Graveney takes on testing selection challenge



DEREK PRINGLE  
Cricket Correspondent

The world-kept secret in English cricket was confirmed yesterday when David Graveney was appointed chairman of selectors. But if a lack of suitable candidates meant his election was a foregone conclusion, the addition of two current players, Graham Gooch and Mike Gatting, to serve as selectors came as a surprise.

It could, however, be three, if the two decide to continue to give

the captain a vote in selection, a decision thought to be about even money at present.

Gooch, of course, has done it all before, having managed to combine being a player and selector last season. But if he professed to be comfortable with his dual role, it was not, apparently, always to the satisfaction of the previous chairman of selectors, Raymond Illingworth.

The main problem will be a logistical one and convening a meeting place for selectors playing in different parts of the country will not be for the

geographically inept. Unless a satellite link-up can be organised or a sponsor for weighty mobile phone bills found, the get-together before the third Test in July when the selectors will be coming from Southend, Headingley and Worcester (presuming Atherton is still captain) ought to keep the motorway police on their toes.

It is a challenge, Graveney, now 44 and appointed until the end of February 1999, claims he is looking forward to. "I would like the season to start tomorrow," he said, perhaps forgetting

it is the rampaging Australians who will have to be encountered.

"It's a fantastic challenge and I can assure people that myself and the other selectors will work tirelessly to identify those with the ability and the passion that will be necessary to beat Australia."

Graveney's appointment, along with those of Gatting and Gooch, to roles once thought to be for ex-cricketers in their dotage, reflects a general move to involve those closest to the modern game. Only the trio's ties with various "rebel" tours to South Africa will raise eye-

brows, and some will no doubt find their present loyalty to English cricket a little too rich

to swallow down whole.

In a change from their unofficial position a few months ago, the England Management Committee have decided that Graveney's position will be a salaried one. But although Tim Lamb, the chief executive of the England Cricket Board, would like to ex-cricketers in their dotage, reflects a general move to involve those closest to the modern game. Only the trio's ties with various "rebel" tours to South Africa will raise eye-

ers' Association to offset any tax implications involved.

Three months ago it was

thought that holding both positions would be incompatible, particularly if players needed to be disciplined. However, as such matters now rest squarely with Bob Bennett, the chairman of the EMC, Graveney's role is one of co-ordination and consensus, or as he puts it: "Turning an 'I' situation into a 'we' situation."

He is said to be a player's man, although in truth he moves with equal facility between both dressing and committee rooms.

He is a shrewd political animal and he will bring a touch of Tony Blair-like ability to soothe those still uncertain about the changes going on around them.

Sussex will be without their highly rated left-arm paceman, Jason Lewry, for more than half of the 1997 season. Sussex were hoping that Lewry, who undergoes an operation to repair a stress fracture of his lower back on Monday, would be fit by the middle of June. But the 25-year-old says he will not be able to resume light training until the end of June.

Graveney: Eager to start

## Bullish Paul primed for Odsal opener

### Rugby League

DAVE HADFIELD

Super League could not have chosen a better place to launch its eagerly awaited second season tonight at Odsal Stadium, Bradford. If there is one venue where the concept of an all-singing, all-dancing summer spectacle has been an unloved success it is at this one unloved hole in the ground.

"We give the fans a reason to get there three hours before the kick-off. It's not just a game, it's an occasion," the Bulls captain, Robbie Paul, said.

"We're going to build on all the things we did last year. We'll make so much noise that rugby league will go ballistic."

Nobody showcases the event better than Bradford, who expect a crowd in excess of 15,000 to get the season off to a flying start, but even Paul knows that it is what happens when they kick off against Warrington that really matters.

The Bulls promise to be an even more formidable proposition than last year, although they will be handicapped by the



Henry Paul, the Bradford captain, is at the hub of preparations yesterday for tonight's Super League curtain-raiser

Photograph: Simon Wilkinson

loss of Graeme Bradley, who shares captaincy duties with Paul, for the first few weeks of the season with a broken thumb.

The options that their coach, Matthew Elliott, has at his disposal are not too bad, however, with an international centre – Paul Loughlin – moving in from the flank and an international winger – Paul Cook – coming into the starting line-up.

John Doraby's Warrington line-up was a source of controversy last week, when he named Iestyn Harris on the bench while always knowing that he was going to start the game. This week, Harris is out of the starting team and is reported to have a calf injury. Which probably means that he is fully fit and will play the entire 80 minutes.

There is also a doubt about Paul Sculthorpe and Doraby seems genuinely to have dropped the winger, Richard Henare, in favour of Mark Forster.

Nigel Vagana, disappointing in the centres last week, moves to full-back and Paul has both him and the new Kiwi forward, Tony Tatupu, to make a big impression.

Shaun Edwards will not be in

part as the season gets into its stride. "I played with and against them in New Zealand and Warrington have picked up two brilliant players who can win a match out of nothing," he warned.

Shaun Edwards will not be in

Wigan's side against Halifax on Sunday, even if he makes himself available. Edwards has spent most of the week in London with his girlfriend, Heather Small, the singer in the pop group M People, who is expecting their child.

"That he hasn't trained all week means that he can't be considered on Sunday," said the Wigan coach, Eric Hughes, who also accepts the growing likelihood that Edwards will leave for the London Broncos.

"It's a matter of Shaun know-

ing where he wants to play," he said. "If we enforced his contract and he didn't want to be here, we wouldn't get the best out of him."

Wigan are in talks with Castleford over their transfer-listed scrum-half, Tony Smith.

who Hughes describes as "a ready-made replacement".

Significantly, Castleford have left Smith out of their side for their opening Super League fixture at Salford on Sunday, with the 18-year-old Danny Orr making his debut.

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**Wing on a mission**  
England's Jon Sleightholme is  
ready for the Welsh, page 26

# sport

**Bullish Paul**  
Bradford captain primed for  
Super League opener, page 27

## Davies back for his Wales swan-song

### Rugby Union

CHRIS HEWITT

Rob Andrew's startling return to the England squad yesterday may have been greeted by an impromptu chorus of "Here comes the Messiah" from his colleagues, but the real Chosen One will be on the other side of half-way when tomorrow's Triple Crown match kicks off in Cardiff. Nine years after he last started a Five Nations game for his country, Jonathan Davies will take the field clad in

most mystical sporting jersey of them all: the Welsh No 10 shirt.

If it sounds like rugby's equivalent of a Darby and Joan reunion - both men are in their dote at 34 - it could hardly be more appropriate. So many memories and fond farewells are on tomorrow's agenda - Davies, Andrew, Will Carling and the Arms Park itself have reached the point of no return - that the nostalgia will seep from every pore.

By some distance the most gifted outside-half to emerge in Britain since the halcyon days

of Barry John and Phil Bennett, Davies is quite plainly not the player he was prior to his move to rugby league in 1988. That being said, he has more than enough know-how and pure footballing instinct to make a decent fist of filling in for his injured apprentice, the precocious Arwel Thomas, and England, in particular, suffered such traumas in trying to contain him during his golden run in the mid-1980s that it will be no great surprise if they freeze the moment he touches the ball.

Miracles, however, are always at a premium, even for a player considered by his nation to be touched with genius. The Welsh delayed their team announcement in the belief that a whole casualty list of injuries would clear up in time for the championship finale but when they named it yesterday, it became clear that they had added more in hope than expectation.

Ieuan Evans, Scott Gibbs and Colin Charvis, three of the more influential performers among a resurgent band of Red Dragons, bowed out reluctantly after training and even though Simon Hill, Nigel Davies and Kingsley Jones are no strangers to the rigours of international rugby, the fabric of Kevin Bowring's promising but still fallible side looked substantially weakened.

At least the coach was able to report a double silver lining in the shape of front row forwards Christian Loader and David Young. Both first-choice props were declared fit to lock horns with the old enemy and in the light of the fact that Mike Voyle, the inexperienced

Llanelli lock, will be attempting to live up to his obvious potential in the second row, Bowring was understandably relieved that he could depend on a tried and trusted unit at the sharp end.

As for Davies, the old confidence was much in evidence, even though he admitted that he would start the game on "one leg" due to a knee problem. "I know we've lost some important players for this game, but we will still have 15 internationals on the pitch and irrespective of who plays on the day, a game against

England is always an enormous challenge that brings the best out of us."

"To be honest, I was disappointed not to be picked for the previous Five Nations games; certainly, I thought they might have brought me off the bench when things were going wrong

and that does not strike fear into a few English hearts, nothing will."

While this is an exciting chance for me to bow out on a high - Saturday will definitely be my last international appearance for Wales - nothing could ever match the excitement of winning my first cap, which

## Tug of war over Waddle

### Football

ALAN NIXON

Chris Waddle walked out of Bradford City with the intention of joining Nottingham Forest yesterday - and straight into a row between the two clubs.

The veteran winger hopes to sign for Forest today as a player in time to make his debut against Liverpool tomorrow, but Bradford are seething about the approach.

Waddle mistakenly thought he had an escape clause in his contract, but Bradford are demanding a fee for him - or the striker Jason Lee - as compensation.

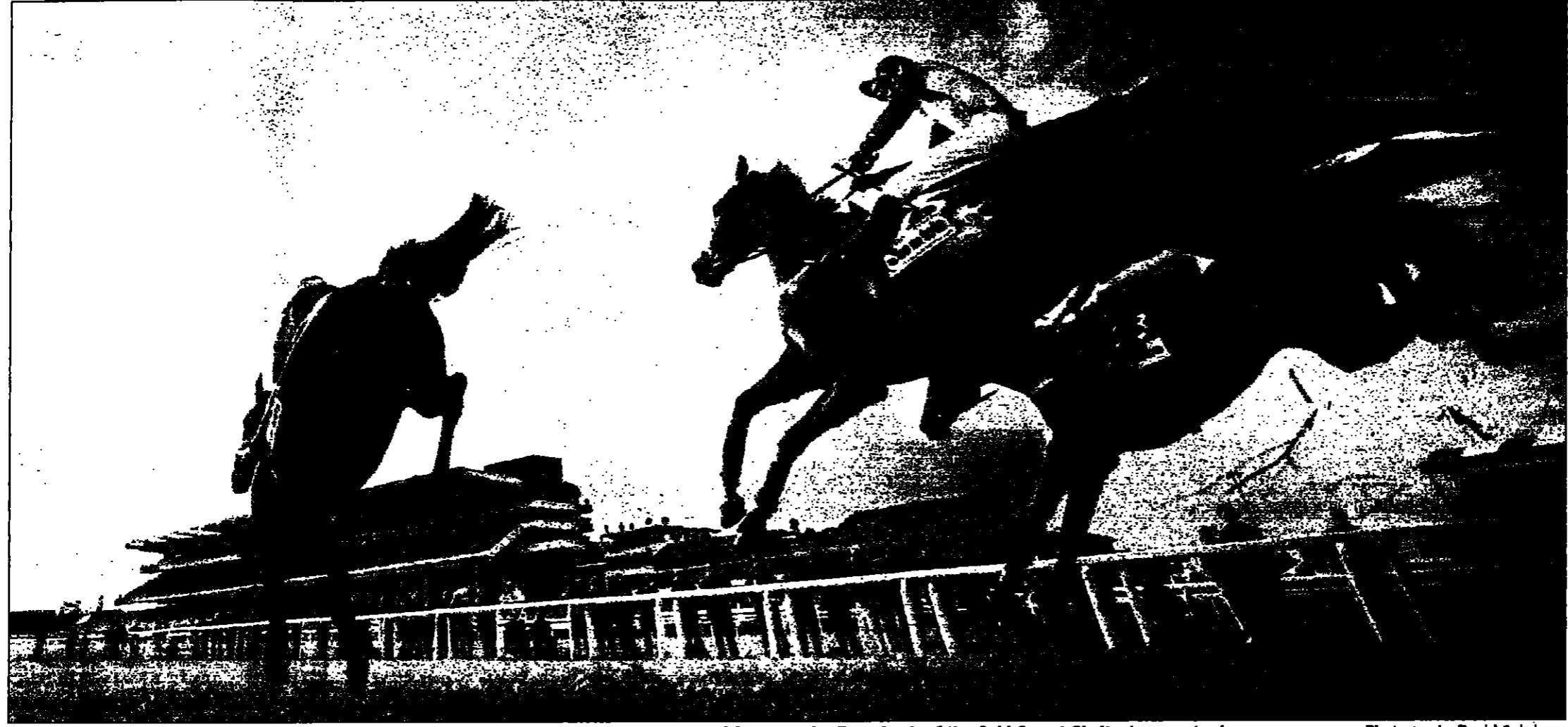
The angry First Division club are also considering reporting Forest to the Premier League for an illegal approach to Waddle, who is under contract for the rest of the season.

Waddle announced his departure before training yesterday morning, but was ordered not to travel to Nottingham until a fee was arranged. Instead, he opened a sports shop in Leeds rather than stay at Bradford's training ground.

One player happy to join Bradford City is the Bolton Wanderers goalkeeper, Aidan Davison, who is moving to the Valley Parade club on a free transfer after a year in the shadows at Bolton. He stands by to make his debut at Reading tomorrow in place of the suspended Jonathan Gould.

Jay Noddy, the 18-year-old Charlton midfielder, was yesterday given the go-ahead to resume his football career by the Football Association.

Noddy failed a drugs test in November last year when he tested positive for cocaine, cannabis and Ecstasy. While serving a three-month ban, he underwent rehabilitation at an FA-approved centre. He will resume training on Monday.



Dublin Flyer leads Mr Mulligan (centre), the eventual winner, and Barton Bank over the second fence on the first circuit of the Gold Cup at Cheltenham yesterday

Photograph: David Ashdown

## Mr Mulligan proves to be the real McCoy

### Racing

RICHARD EDMONDSON  
reports from Cheltenham

It was not exactly an Irish winner, but for the hordes that have spilled over the water to Gloucestershire this week it was the next best thing. The Irish-bred Mr Mulligan captured the Gold Cup yesterday for the Ulster partnership of jockey Tony McCoy and trainer Noel Chance. The huge horse may be bulletted in Lambourn, but the roar he received on his return was from folk who thought of him as one of their own.

Mr Mulligan, it has to be said, is no oil painting, rather something a child might produce on the kitchen table with crayon. When he was first brought to the attention of his owner

Michael Worcester, it was suggested he did not check out the horse too carefully. "Louise Cooper, who is a spotter for us, told me to buy him," Worcester related yesterday. "But she warned me not to look at him or I would have the horse, I just wrote out a cheque for £18,000."

"He isn't a picture and when Noel saw him he was disappointed at this great thing with white spots."

Pretty is pretty does, however, and Mr Mulligan was just about the best novice chaser last year until he whacked one fence too many at this meeting 12 months ago. This season he was destined for second place in the King George VI Chase at Kempton before landing on his nose at the ultimate barrier. Since that day his trainer has

always had one eye on the

clock. A haematoma the size of a grapefruit in the horse's back proved difficult to treat. "I never thought we'd miss this race but it got a bit uncomfortable," Chance said.

There was little agreeable either, about the gelding's final piece of work at Newbury 10 days ago. Mr Mulligan performed like the beasts once employed by United Dairies. "We sent him over two miles and he was so bad I promise you that if he had run in the bumper here he would have finished two furlongs behind," McCoy said. "But after that I schooled him over eight fences at Lambourn and he went quicker than at any stage at Newbury. I was much happier."

Nevertheless, the binoculars were largely trained elsewhere when Mr Mulligan entered the parade ring yesterday. Barton

Bank, the old soldier, carried neck markings that lend him the appearance of a spotty adolescent, while the diminutive Dorans Pride tip-toed around as if the tarmac had been mimed. Mr

3.2: Cheltenham Gold Cup (See 22.13.00)  
1. Mr Mulligan A P McCoy 20-2  
2. Barton Bank D Walsh 33-2  
3. Davies Prince J P Brodrick 10-1  
Also 4-1 for Imperial Cat (mailed), 7-1 Don't Look Now, 7-1 Cheltenham (mailed), 7-1 Coopers Hill (mailed), 9-1 Dublin Flyer (mailed), 12-1 Cygnet (mailed), 16-1 Chatterer Du Lac (mailed), 18-1 Unruly Muster (mailed), 20-1 Nathan Lee (mailed), 21-1 Bar to Get (mailed), 30-1 Go Boldic (mailed).  
14 runs, 9, 5, 6, 5, 16. (Winner trained by Noel T. Chance at Lambourn. Total £21,505. 24.1.17. Total £20,656.50. CSF: £24,805. Total £1,650.40. Net Admision £2,000)

Mulligan, a chestnut and fawn creature, reminded of a horse tied up to a rail outside the cowboy saloon. Then, as the field filed out, came a telling gesture. "He shook his head violently," Chance said. "And he only does

that when he's feeling on very good terms with himself."

The 20-1 shot had others shaking their heads when he collided with a fence, but that was the wake-up call. "When I gave him a little smack he warmed up and I knew when I let him stride on that he was warming to his task," McCoy said.

Other riders had less encouraging messages. Conor O'Dwyer had to pull up Imperial Cat after the gelding behaved like an impostor of the horse that collected this crown 12 months ago, and a similar fate befell Danoli. Coome Hill was run off his feet and One Man all but collapsed in the straight. Up front, the orange thing with spots put nine lengths between him and his nearest pursuer.

For McCoy it was the climax of an outstanding Festival, Chance said. "And he only does

following his successes in the Arkle Chase and Champion Hurdle on Tuesday. The man from Co Antrim was a flat jockey until he could not do his trousers up and has already climbed many of National Hunt racing's towers by the age of 22.

Noel Chance's career has been less meteoric. It took him 20 years to train 100 winners in his homeland before the ice-cream man cometh. Michael Worcester, whose company manufactures ice-cream cones, installed him as a private trainer in Lambourn two years ago.

Chance's yard has an admirably realistic name for the speculative business of horseracing. They call it Folly House.

Chance has swiftly made himself a popular addition to the echelon of trainers in the valley of the racehorse. He is a

modest figure who delights in his role as a family man, and about his only extravagance is a tumbler of whiskey in the Queen's Arms at East Garston.

As he stood on the pinnacles yesterday it must have seemed a long way down to the place where Chance started on his trek as a tolling small trainer on the Curragh. "I've struggled for years training in Ireland and I now know there is light at the end of the tunnel," he said. "There is a God."

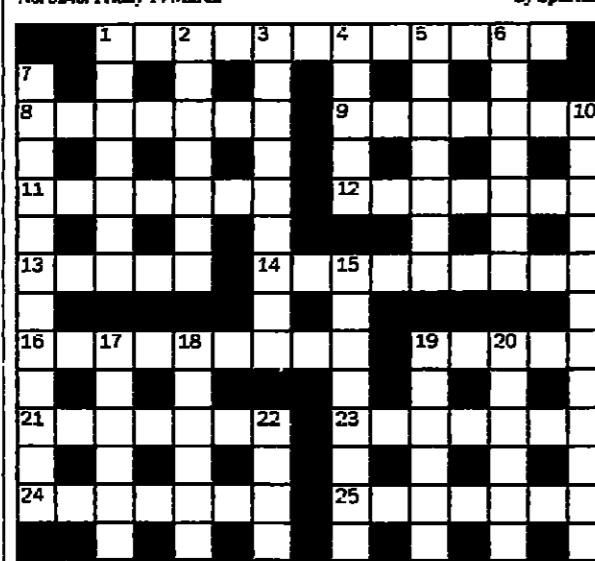
Cheltenham reports, page 25

### THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No. 3246. Friday 14 March

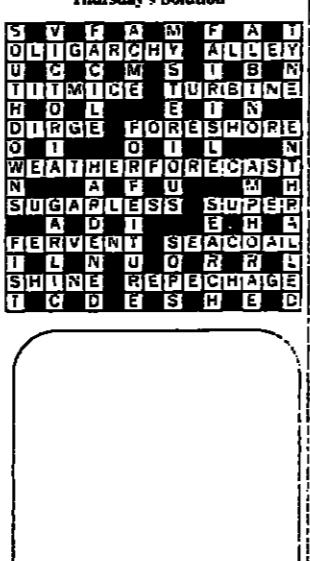
By Spurins

Thursday's Solution



ACROSS  
1 Agricultural enterprises where plants are grown? (7,5)  
3 Nobod's else? (7)  
5 Does nothing about alternative holiday destinations? (7)  
11 Runner from Brixton? (7)  
12 One's sure to have a five o'clock shadow? (7)  
13 Suspicious fellow, one easily frightened? (5)  
14 Part of sentence I've put last - it's the end? (9)  
16 Took one's leave? (9)  
19 Lamp's out for part of church service? (5)  
21 Military leader from Havasu making a comeback in opera? (7)  
23 Mere lad's nervous, being very green? (7)  
24 Acted incisively, shifting debris around front of compound? (7)

DOWN  
1 Wet paint (6)  
2 How to buy things for cash down? (7)  
3 Politician first to suggest a prayer? (9)  
4 Speak up when entertaining sailors with stories? (5)  
5 As chemists know, it's a toxic substance? (7)  
6 Cocktail dress needing knock to get in? (7)  
7 Ultimate tribute from a grateful electorate? (4, 2, 6)  
20 Not in favour of putting profits into alternative technology? (7)  
22 Old theologian, extremely lazy, strange to relate? (5)



15 Verdict shows discrimination (9)  
17 Left western Europe for African Country? (7)  
18 Measure that's soundly based? (7)  
19 Came before President seeking amendment to decree? (7)  
20 Not in favour of putting profits into alternative technology? (7)  
22 Old theologian, extremely lazy, strange to relate? (5)

## Owner considers cloning his Cigar without fire

GREG WOOD

When he was on a racetrack, Cigar was always a champion, but when it comes to the mating game, he is anything but. Despite more than 30 attempts, the best horse of recent years has so far failed to get a mare into foal, and Allen Paulson, Cigar's former owner, is getting so desperate that yesterday he suggested cloning as a remedy for his horse's ills.

"We are certainly looking at cloning," Paulson told the *New York Post*. "Up to last week, 16 of 31 bred to Cigar have been tested, and none is in foal. There's no life in his sperm at all. It's a big shock."

Quite what Paulson might hope to achieve by such a course of action - even if it were possible to overcome the huge

technical difficulties - is hard to say. The sperm of a clone of Cigar would, almost by definition, be as lifeless as those of the original.

In order to race a clone, meanwhile, Paulson would need to overcome international agreements which ban artificial insemination and, by implication at least, cloning.

That Paulson could even suggest such a thing probably says more about his frustration at seeing the most valuable racehorse in the world depictre

even more rapidly than the average betting slip. Cigar's track career, which included a sequence of 16 successive victories in racing history, earning prize-money of almost \$10 million (£6m), and a successful retirement to stud could have taken the total far higher.

When Dolly, the cloned

sheep, was unveiled by the Roslin Institute in Edinburgh last month, the possibility of performing a similar operation with a horse became a little more credible, but if Paulson believes it is imminent, he is sadly mistaken. "Whether it is transferable to other species, we don't know," Harry Griffin, of the Institute, said. "Other attempts will be made with cattle, and then probably with pigs."

Cloning might eventually allow the owners of prime bloodstock to produce carbon copies, but whether this would be desirable for the sport as a whole must be questionable. The genetic variety which is encouraged by traditional breeding methods is generally a good thing for the breed, and even rich and desperate men like Allen Paulson may find that such considerations will stand in their way.

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